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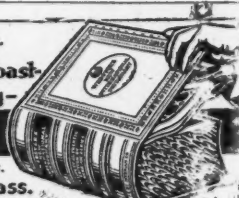
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Cloth binding, \$2.00 by mail in the United States and Canada; foreign countries, \$2.25.

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CRITICAL PROBLEMS OF THE DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE

BY STEPHEN BONSAI

An expert analysis of the situation that will confront the Conference for the Limitation of Armaments and of the chief problems that will come up for settlement—The United States at the parting of the ways in regard to enforcing the Open-Door policy

BY a happy coincidence which is symbolic rather than fortuitous, on the 11th of November next, at the same hour, one of our nameless rather than unknown heroes, brought from the battle fields on the long-endangered frontier of humanity, will join the bivouac of our glorious dead in Arlington, and the World Disarmament Conference of broadened scope will assemble in Washington. The memory of the dead, the thought of those who live to mourn as well as of the generations unborn who should be spared such experiences, if it is in our power to prevent them, are, as they should be, associated with the date that closed the slaughter and the destruction of Armageddon, let us hope for all time.

I say conference of "broadened scope," I think advisedly, because the principal naval powers of the world, as well as those with special interests and responsibilities in Asia, are invited in the solemn words of President Harding's invitation "to participate in a conference on the subject of the limitation of armament, in connection with which Pacific and Far Eastern questions should also be discussed."

The formal program of the conference, in so far as Far Eastern problems are involved, is subject to future agreements and is to be shaped by "suggestions to be exchanged before the meeting of the conference."

Subject then to the accords that may be reached in the diplomatic exchanges now in progress between the powers, the scope of the conference and the tentative program as outlined in the President's call is as follows, expressed in the President's own words:

1. *The limitation of armaments, naval and others, which are a menace to the peace of the world.*
2. *The discussion of Pacific and Far Eastern questions.*
3. *To formulate proposals to control in the interests of humanity the new agencies of warfare.*
4. *By a common understanding with respect to Pacific and Far Eastern problems of unquestioned importance, to arrive at a solution through the conference that may serve to promote enduring friendship among the peoples.*

Prompt acceptance from all the powers was forthcoming, except from Japan. After some delay, however, and explanatory correspondence between Tokio and Washington, Japan has accepted, though advising that questions which may be regarded as accomplished facts, or "as more properly problems such as are of sole concern to certain particular powers, be scrupulously avoided." In other words, while it is couched in courteous diplomatic language, Japan makes a sweeping reservation and retains full liberty of action in case her suggestions as to the more profit-

able scope of the conference, now being received in Washington, are not followed. Without in the least seeking to minimize the force and the effect, since until they are adjusted that those far-seeing statesmen in Washington and elsewhere, who are seeking to establish a new world procedure enlightened by and open to the currents of aroused public opinion on the subject of war and armament, have secured an initial triumph and that a hopeful expectancy toward coming events is fully justified.

The pending questions awaiting solution and retarding the development of the countries across the Pacific, and, indeed, of world-wide effect, since until they are adjusted, all drastic disarmament proposals should be regarded as dangerous experiments, may be briefly enumerated as follows: First, the status of the Island of Yap, pivotal in world communications. Second, Japanese immigration to California, a *casus belli* whenever the will to war and conquest prevails. Third, the control of Shantung, from which is inseparable the policy of equal opportunity and the Open Door in China. Fourth, the scope of the Anglo-Japanese Treaty, its renewal or discontinuance. This last question may be kept off the agenda, but it will and should figure in the real proceedings, as it is a very powerful factor in a situation which intelligent world opinion everywhere is seeking so to compose, that disarmament may be regarded as a sane policy.

THE OPEN DOOR

Great Britain, France, Belgium and the United States are all vitally interested in the Open Door to Chinese markets, but some of these powers, unfortunately, have other vital interests. For instance, France is vitally interested in the protection of her Indo-China possessions, and she has sought to safeguard them in a special treaty with Japan—imposing mutual obligations—that is still operative. Great Britain is, of course,

keenly interested in maintaining her possessions on and off the East Asian coast, and her sphere of influence in the Yangtse Valley, not formally renounced in favor of the later policy of equal opportunity. The leaders of the British Colonial Office are today embarrassed by a tie with Japan which is none the less binding because it is rarely emphasized. They know what would have happened in all human probability to British Malaysia but for the opportune arrival of the Japanese warships at Singapore in February, 1915, and the drastic way in which they suppressed the mutiny of the Indian troops with which the native Malays openly sympathized.

So perhaps it would bewise to admit that there are two categories in the ranks of the upholders of the Open Door: Those who think with us that it is a promise of peace and a guarantee of the salvation of China, and the others who see alternate measures a little way up-stage, by which, in certain contingencies, at least their commercial interests might be safeguarded.

England has generally maintained much the same attitude toward China as we have, but her financial affiliations are quite different from ours, and it is quite clear that there are certain British financial groups, powerful in the Far East, whatever their strength in Downing Street may be, of which I know nothing, who might be able to see with placid equanimity our attempt to internationalize Yap for cable purposes fail. For, if we succeed in our purpose as stated by Secretary Hughes, and President Wilson's contention as to what was agreed upon with respect to this infinitesimal speck of land at the council of the Big Four in Paris prevails, the present cable supremacy of the British in East Asia would be a thing of the past.

In business and in diplomatic circles it is not necessary to point out how imperative an all-American cable to China is in the present world situation. Without it, the Chinese

would continue to regard the Open Door as a delusion, perhaps as a snare. Our business circles, in the light of recent experience, not limited to this world quarter, are sufficiently enlightened as to the trade-getting qualities that a cable in the unrestricted hands of a commercial rival possesses. While other and more influential countries have acquiesced in our position, as so ably stated by Mr. Hughes, the warmest supporter of our policy in this regard is probably Holland, a country which was vitally interested and closely associated in the imperial German attempt to escape from the coils of the English cables during the ten years preceding the war. Indeed, the cables that Germany laid, and the connection with the Dutch cable from Java to Europe, constitute the present subject of contention: that, and the fact that the Japanese have transferred the former Yap-Shanghai cable to Japanese waters, and that American business to reach the Asiatic mainland must still pass over British or Japanese wires. Hope of reaching an agreement on this vital matter, before the formal conference, is widely held in Washington.

JAPANESE EXCLUSION ISSUE

The question of the status of the Japanese in California is really a petty domestic issue, but it is susceptible of being magnified into a grave question at the whim of political demagogues on either side of the Pacific. While little is printed to this effect, least of all in the Japanese press, Australia, Canada and New Zealand are much more drastic in their methods of excluding Japanese than we are, or than even the most ill-considered proposals of California legislation contemplate. When the real history of the Paris Conference is written, it will be plain that the Japanese plea of racial equality could and undoubtedly would have been accepted had the Japanese plenipotentiaries been willing to accept a stipulation insisted upon by Premier Hughes of

Australia expressly reserving the regulation of immigration matters as economic measures within the discretion of each State.

Although we did it with the best intentions, and were inspired by the most creditable motives, it was admittedly an initial mistake on our part to enter upon the "Gentlemen's Agreement" dealing with the immigration question. Both the Japanese and the American authorities have in an honorable spirit lived up to the terms of the agreement; nevertheless, since it came into operation the Japanese population of California has increased threefold, from thirty thousand to nearly a hundred thousand, largely through evasion of the terms of the agreement, by people who were not Japanese or American or gentlemen.

Japan has handled the same question as it arose in her ports in a commendably frank way, and frankness has proved to be the best policy. On this matter, all the world knows where Japan stands. By imperial ordinances and formal statutes, the immigration of laborers into Japan is forbidden, and foreigners cannot obtain individual landholdings. They cannot engage in agriculture or in fishing, and the introduction of Chinese or Korean farmers or laborers is expressly and specifically forbidden. And yet these races do mix when they meet in other countries. Inter-marriage is frequent, and not unsuccessful. In Japan, only the economic necessity of protecting the native farmer and laborer exists, and Japan reacts to it as we do, as do the Canadians, the Australians and the New Zealanders, but she makes her decision in the open light of day, and no Chinese or Korean troublemaker can misrepresent her action and her attitude, as I am afraid our policy under the "Gentlemen's Agreement" is frequently misrepresented by men of low standing, but who, none the less, at times are influential molders of public opinion in Japan.

ANGLO-JAPANESE ALLIANCE

And now comes the far-reaching question of world-wide effect—the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. Today it is continued by common consent. The opinion of the Lord Chancellor of England, who holds that it is still binding, that it is not suspended or invalidated, was hardly required, because, according to the explicit terms of the instrument, the treaty cannot be abrogated at all; in wartime and in time of peace, twelve months' notice from one of the contracting parties is demanded.

Let us make this matter very plain. Should Great Britain give notice of her wish to discontinue the treaty on Dec. 1 next, she would yet be held by its terms even under peace conditions until Dec. 1, 1922, and if, in the course of these twelve months, Japan should enter upon a war, even with a single power, or be attacked by a single power, Great Britain would be committed by solemn treaty obligation to assist Japan with all her forces. It is further held, and by the highest authorities, that not until twelve months after the conclusion of these supposititious hostilities, and not until twelve months after notice to this effect had been given, could Great Britain escape from the obligations which this solemn pact imposes.

In view of these hard facts, which are well known, but not as well known as they should be, it is not surprising that public opinion in England and in the Dominions should be greatly exercised at the present status of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. Now and again the comforting suggestion is launched that the agreement is in a state of suspended animation; that it will be carefully put away at an early opportunity, and that at present it is inoperative. But, unfortunately, these reassurances are not valid. The treaty is a public one, and it is duly filed and acknowledged before the Registrar of the League of Nations. It should prove at least as binding as the secret treaties of 1915-17 between the powers with regard to territories

on the Adriatic and on the Yellow Sea. And yet, while regretting the necessity, the powers involved held themselves in honor bound to live up to the terms of these treaties, world disturbing as they admittedly were.

Acknowledging as they do the important war services rendered by Japan—not in the least exaggerated by the recent eloquent speech of the Premier in the House of Commons—yet Englishmen and colonials alike are uneasy and indeed alarmed at the fact that the foreign policies of the empire are today not within their immediate control. England knew why the treaty was negotiated in 1902 and why it was renewed, but, with Russia and Germany having ceased to exist as militaristic powers, few see any justification for another renewal. To many—and this idea is not wholly exaggerated—Great Britain finds herself today a member of a “blind pool,” with Japan the directing partner and Britain bound to an almost automatic obedience. Now, with all due respect to the strong pro-League of Nations sentiment in Japan, and to the growing sentiment in favor of a reduction of armament, with unquestioning belief in the sincerity of the criticisms of Japan's actions in China that have recently been made by such important and influential Japanese leaders as Mr. Takahashi, the present Minister of Finance, and of Mr. Ozaki, the recent Minister of Justice, this is indeed a strange position for an empire of free men composing free Commonwealths to be placed in, and still stranger if they should remain placed in it long.

But, after all, that is their predicament, and it is our own, to which we should devote our attention. For we, by our treaty commitments and the public pronouncements of our leaders in and out of Congress, are held to a policy of equal opportunities in China, without the suggestion that there is an alternative that would be agreeable to us, by which we could be placated. So far as I can see, we are the only power pledged to back the Oper-

Door policy, that is, the only power that stands today in this clear-cut, unequivocal position, without reservations or alternatives.

JAPAN'S AIMS IN CHINA

Japan's avowed aims, at least with respect to China, are widely held, and it seems to me that, as publicly stated, they are wholly creditable. They are inspired by a very natural desire on the part of the Tokio Government to obtain for the Japanese the fullest opportunity possible to develop China's natural resources and so secure at moderate cost the raw materials which are absolutely necessary to Japan's development as an industrial country. Japan wishes likewise to secure in China an important retail market for her manufactured articles, which, with the development of the country and the increasing wants of its inhabitants, might well become what it is so frequently called in enthusiastic anticipation — the "greatest market in the world."

When this has been said, undoubtedly some of the political aspects of the situation force themselves upon the attention of the ruling classes, and to a limited extent upon the commercial classes of the nation. When Japan as a result of her successful war with Russia obtained world-wide recognition as a great power, China was in swift political decay; her partition had begun, and its completion was daily threatened, nor was it an idle menace. The respective zones of the predatory powers had been carefully staked out, and almost all the conflicting claims to tidbits of territory had been more or less amicably adjusted. The successful completion of these plans would have meant commercial ruin to Japan, and, to put it mildly, political insecurity. Japan immediately attacked with energy the vital problem which this situation presented, but in the light of what has followed it is fair to say with little success.

And yet the difficulties were and are admittedly very great. To save

the situation, China was told she must abandon the philosophy she had clung to for ten thousand years and enter the very real world of today under the tutelage and in the leading strings of the long-despised "dwarfs" of the islands off the coast of the Middle Kingdom. The attempt was made to develop China's latent strength and inspire her with sympathy and understanding of the Japanese pro-Asian policy at one and the same time. In this task the Japanese have failed and the policy is abandoned. It is now admitted that a strong China might become an even greater danger to Japan than the annexed territories of the predatory powers on the East Asian shores. Hence the growing strength of the doctrine that is frequently, although not always, in the ascendant in Tokio and often expressed in these words: "What we need of China is to secure our military position, and our materials and our markets must be in our own safe-keeping."

This doctrine has secured many adherents during the last ten years, and it was emphatically in the ascendant the last three years of the great war. Japan took advantage of the embarrassment of the West, just as the West had so frequently taken advantage of anarchic conditions in the East. If this attitude is maintained at the Pacific conference, the resulting steps toward disarmament will be short, and even these may prove dangerous. I do not ignore the voices that have been raised in Japan in favor of disarmament or of the League of Nations, or in criticism of recent Japanese policy in China. They are sincere and they are important, but as long as it is clear that the military party in Japan under the titular leadership of Yamagata, that aged bow-and-arrow soldier, is in actual control of the destinies of his country, disarmament might prove a costly experiment and invite burdens in comparison with which the present grievous load of armament might seem but a feather weight indeed.

The Japanese, without distinction of party or of caste, are convinced that they have as much right to a predominant position on the Asiatic shores of the North Pacific as we have to our claim of supremacy and control on our side of that ocean, and, as a people, they are inclined to underrate our military and naval power, although not to the extent they indulged in before the events of 1918. Suggestions from war-locks and war-mongers—they have them in Japan as well as elsewhere—creep into the columns even of influential papers from time to time, and the impression grows that, while the present Administration in Washington is alarmed at the outlook and proposes to “build a navy second to none in the world,” our people are war weary and are forcing Congress to scrap whatever instrumentalities for war we developed during the years of world danger.

DANGER OF ANOTHER WAR

The word goes forth—I admit not from very influential sources, but still it goes, and many converts to this point of view are secured—that in the East there is developing another “irrepressible conflict,” and that perhaps today or at latest tomorrow the inevitable issue should be faced, now that America is war weary and unprepared, and Japan is eager and relatively better prepared than her finances and her prospective income will permit her to be, say ten years hence.

The Japanese public and, I believe, the Japanese Government are watching the developments in the Philippine Islands as they have not watched them since the day when it looked as though American was to yield to German control—when Dewey with vague instructions, and Diederichs with very specific orders, lay face to face with ships cleared for action in Manila Bay. The Japanese hold that the people of our trans-pacific islands are somewhat disaffected as a result

of the sharp change from the Wilsonian promise of independence and the Jones bill, which gave it Congressional sanction, and of the attitude upon this question, as yet, however, only outlined by the Harding Administration. I was told in Berlin some months ago by a leading German republican and democrat whom I have frequently found to be well informed that when the pros and the cons were debated by the Imperial War Staff and the great councilors before Emperor William in “shining armor” that momentous afternoon in Potsdam, the justification or the pretext of the war decision there reached was a report from an Embassy Secretary upon the disloyal attitude of Ireland. Stranger things have happened then than that the state of the Philippine Islands should be the pretext of an equally momentous decision.

At such a juncture Japan, with an army of thirty-one divisions and a navy in some respects superior to our own and with a reserve of trained sailors greater than that of all the other naval powers taken together, would not only have to face a potentially great power, but actually a very disorganized one. Japan's war-tried ally, whatever else she might do, could not be expected to rule the seas in a spirit unfriendly to Japan. In this posture of affairs it might take us some time to mobilize once again our resources, which saved the world, but unfortunately were not permitted to lead it into a relatively safe haven. Perhaps then for a season we should have reason to regret that while the territorial integrity of Japan is guaranteed by the signers of the Covenant of the League our boundaries and our possessions, as belonging to a non-member, are outside the immediate sphere of the League's influence and activities. In a word, in the face of an always possible aggressive thrust on the part of Japan upon the Philippines or Guam or Hawaii, the powers with whom we were so lately asso-

ciated, and with whom our taxpayers and our treasury will probably be associated to the end of time, could act as they saw fit and as their interests dictated. They would be foot-loose and word free. There would be no scraps of paper to tear up.

In the confused appeals that are voiced in China today by the few, in the inertia of the great silent masses of the million-headed population, there is little promise of salvation. Admittedly there is a growing desire to save China, but, unfortunately, each graduate of a technical school insists upon saving China in his own way. The leaders do not lead, and the compromisers do not achieve even group solidarity. Racial pride is aroused, it is true, by the pitiful state of the Middle Kingdom, and this may grow into effective national consciousness; but the way to it is still long, and perhaps the time available is short.

POSSIBLE TRIPLE ENTENTE

Only one thing seems certain and stable in all the confusion—instability, and, above all, the world insecurity that is inherent in the present Far Eastern situation. If this thing can be shaped into a practical plan we should, perhaps, not grasp it unconditionally, but at least we should scrutinize it carefully, even if the source and inspiration of it should prove to be exclusively Japanese. Even should it be proved that Japan is solely responsible for the present conditions in China (in my judgment this is far from being the case), the rest of the world must share the consequences. Japan will not reap the whirlwind alone.

The present Premier of Japan, Mr. Takashi Hara, with his party, the Seiyukai, behind him, subject of course to the uncertainties of party supremacy, has publicly presented a plan to world scrutiny and examination, from which he confidently asserts that the salvation of China, world peace, and gradual disarmament

may be expected. He has declared with his great authority that Japan would welcome an Anglo-American-Japanese understanding for the purpose of formulating and enforcing a reconstruction policy in China. There is, of course, nothing new under the sun, least of all in China; and even superficial observers of the trend of affairs in the East will recognize in this project a revival of the old plan of an international stewardship in a more limited and more concrete form than it has been presented before. Premier Hughes of Australia has publicly approved of the plan, and he joins with Mr. Hara in expressing the belief that the execution of such a project will require the good-will, the cordial approval and perhaps the active co-operation of the United States. Hara and his followers are the men, it should be recalled, who in 1915 and since have combated always the twenty-one demands of the Japanese military party. They have given guarantees of good faith.

Clearly, then, public opinion in the United States should be prepared to face very definite proposals on these lines at the world conference, which is admittedly convened to discuss Far Eastern problems intimately, indeed inextricably, involved in all sane plans of world disarmament. We may well be asked at an early day with what grace we can insist upon the maintenance of the Open Door if we refuse to share in the guardianship of the gates or to make any move to assist in the establishment of a stable government in those regions which, when the Open-Door policy was enunciated, constituted the greatest potential market in the world. But today how changed the situation! Conditions in China no longer border on anarchy; they overstep it. And the troubles are no longer localized. Murder, rapine and lawlessness are endemic in practically all the Chinese provinces today.

It is a grave decision however we make it. If we assume the share of

responsibility which will probably be assigned to us, how can we hope to make our action palatable to our Chinese friends, who are well-nigh unanimous in denouncing a scheme in which they think they have discovered another drive, more carefully cloaked, however, than previous ones, of a group of Japanese imperialists who seek to secure in this indirect way what they failed to achieve by frontal attacks?

Here again we are at the parting of the ways. Here again the situation in which we are involved must be carefully considered. One thing and one only in this connection is certain: Until a stable government emerges from the present anarchy and disorder, world disarmament would be premature; and for Japan, just outside the gate—from which there is no telling what will emerge, perhaps a White Wolf of world vision, a modern Kublai Khan—it would be suicidal.

We must recognize that a change has come over China. The pacifist victim of the predatory powers has at last become inoculated with the virus of militarism. After all, the handling of the situation in China will be the acid test of the conference in Washington, as the treatment of Russia tipped the scales of world judgment in Paris. It is perhaps not too soon to say with some insistence that the Chinese situation cannot be measurably improved unless the American people is prepared to take a grave step fraught with far-reaching consequences, and entailing an abrupt departure from principles long honored and undeviatingly pursued.

JAPAN'S ENERGETIC ATTITUDE

At this point the question presents itself, unavoidably, What are the basic terms in which Japan's present foreign policy, admittedly, until quite recently, disturbing to all plans for world peace and disarmament, can be expressed? I think I find something approaching a clear keynote in Japan's recent plea to the members of

the Four Powers Consortium. In this important and, as I think, revealing document Japan appears to waive her specific claims to the independent construction of railways in Manchuria and in other districts comprised in her claimed spheres of influence. She subscribes once more to the principle of co-operation and mutuality—that is, to the Open Door—but with the understanding, I take it, to be a clear reservation, recorded in Lord Curzon's covering dispatches, that the Governments behind the financiers of the consortium will not permit any activities or operations "inimical to the security of the economic life and the national defense of Japan."

This may mean peace or war in the Far East. Such pronouncements generally are ambiguous. Interpretation depends upon the viewpoint. Is insistence upon the twenty-one demands of 1915 indicated here? Does Japan, as a measure indispensable to her national defense, insist upon the recognition of her secret military agreement with China, which was literally forced from the Peking Government in 1918? The terms of this agreement, which is said to be operative in the eighteen provinces of China proper, have never been made public. It has never been submitted to the Registrar of the League of Nations, as required by the covenant binding upon all subscribing members, including Japan and China. It may be harmless, and it may be justified by existing conditions in China, as the few Japanese who admit its existence assert. It may also mean the knell of China's independence and her appearance on the Far Eastern stage as a vassal State. This is what the war mongers of Shanghai assert it is, and they will never be silenced until the document is produced; and the conference in Washington, which it is so widely hoped will make smooth the path toward disarmament, would seem to be a most appropriate occasion for it to be brought into the light of day.

The expression as to steps "inimical to the security of the economic life of Japan" is a large and comprehensive reservation. Is it to be applied locally or to the Continent of Asia? It may well be interpreted as demanding a favored, even an exclusive position in the markets of China, both as to the sale of manufactured articles and as to the procurement of raw materials. Such an exclusive interpretation has been made time and again, but unofficially, in Japan, where many economists, and not always of the frankly jingo school, assert that Japan's survival as a great power is dependent upon her dominant position in the Chinese field. Should this principle be asserted as a national policy, openly and officially, just as it is secretly but most efficiently enforced in Manchuria today, it would mean the closing of the Open Door in China at least as far as the powers other than Japan are concerned.

ISSUE MOMENTOUS FOR US

Do we intend to acquiesce in any such decision? How far do we mean to go in the defense of the Open-Door policy? Since 1915 it has been infringed upon or ignored, and the issue will be presented in unmistakable terms at the Washington conference. True, we have time and again served notice upon all concerned—and no less recently than last June—that we cannot "recognize any agreement or undertaking impairing the treaty rights of the United States and its citizens in China." Now, do we mean this? Are we aware where this policy may lead us, and are we prepared to face whatever may be the consequences of such a policy—and are we determined to enforce it? Is the Open Door a cardinal principle of our polity and foreign policy, or was it the whim of an hour or of an Administration which died with John Hay and is not binding on the nation? I have no doubt that the Department of State is fully

prepared to defend the interests of the United States in this matter, as well as in other important questions, as far as its powers extend, but without the keen support of an awakened and an enlightened public opinion its powers do not extend very far.

The second series of solutions which Japan announces that she will not accede to are those "inimical to the national defense of Japan." Certainly the return of Korea to an independent status falls in this category. The whole trouble in the Far East of recent years is due—as many have said who love to put problems in a nutshell, if not quite correctly—to the fact that the Korean coast, two hours' sail away across the Tshushima Strait, was in weak, unfriendly hands and was coveted in turn by the relatively strong hands of China and of Russia. Admittedly, Korea was not so much to be feared as the masterful invader her weakness seemed to invite. A change in the present control of South Korea would undoubtedly weaken the national defenses of Japan and would require extensive armament expenditures. Japan, of course, would fight any proposition of this nature, and the friends of Korea are ill-advised in advancing it. Japan will defend her dearly bought rights in the Peninsula with all her force and all her strength, and in the present posture of world affairs she is wise in assuming this uncompromising attitude. The hope of the Koreans lies in other solutions.

Then comes the status of the Philippine Islands, always a minor problem with us, since it has practically passed out of campaign literature; but it looms with increasing potential importance once you have the Pacific behind you. There is no reason to believe that Japan covets these islands now. The sad lesson of the cost of tropical possessions inhabited by uncertain and probably unruly races, as illustrated by her experience in Formosa, has sunk it. But Japan was keenly interested in the

Philippines when, in 1899, it looked as though we meant to abandon them and Germany was on hand eager to step into our shoes. Now, of course, the Philippines, in the hands of a strong naval power or as the football of an unprepared democracy, such as many think the islands will reveal when abandoned by us, is an important and direct concern of Japan. She cannot and should not be expected to be wholly disinterested as to the possible changes in the political complexion and control of the archipelago. But Japan's attitude toward the present phase of the Philippine problem, while it has not been formulated in any public document or declaration of policy, is not concealed in the secret archives. Undoubtedly it is very much like our policy or attitude toward the Spanish occupancy of Cuba, which we maintained undeviatingly down to the Spanish-American War of 1898.

As long as Spain lived upon terms of neighborliness with us and maintained comparative peace and law and order throughout the islands, or at least prevented her West Indian possessions from becoming an international nuisance, we would not and did not interfere. But, as indicated in the exchange of notes with Lord Malmesbury and the French Foreign Minister of his day, and in many others, we would not sanction any change that might be made in the status of Cuba without consulting us. This is a natural position for Japan to assume, and there is some reason to believe that she will shortly state it in a public manner. Japan has, of course, the same right as we have always had, and generally exercised, to keep at arm's length undesirable imposed Governments or the development of unruly and inefficient ones in her sphere of interest and immediate concern.

If this natural anxiety and indirect responsibility of Japan in the Philippine solution, yet to be found, were recognized, many thorny developments of the future would be entirely

obviated or smoothed over. I personally do not expect a breakdown of efficient government in the Philippines in the event of our withdrawal, but I know that many Americans and quite a few Japanese have this apprehension. Certain it is, however, that upon our departure the responsibility for the good behavior of one of Japan's closest neighbors will pass from strong, tried hands into hands that have not been tried and that are steadied by but little experience.

In conclusion, let us try to resume in a few words the fundamentals of a situation which I have but outlined. China's weakness and Japan's strength, coupled with our sincere desire, in the words of the Department of State, "to supplant the present intense spirit of competition by a spirit of mutuality and co-operation," are the pivotal factors of the Far Eastern problems today pressing for adjustment. It is, then, high time to ask, and if possible ascertain, if China's present weakness and disorganization are beyond revival and recall; to learn if possible how long and in what directions Japan will continue to use her giant strength as a giant. Then we should have something as authoritative as a silent plebiscite in regard to our own purpose. Are we prepared to safeguard China in its present great extremity? Are we resolutely determined to keep open the greatest market in the world for our merchants, our manufacturers and our wares, or are our pleas in this regard merely academic or platonic?

To make even progressive disarmament possible, all these vital questions will have to be answered unequivocally at the Pacific Conference, and upon the tenor of these answers will depend the peace of the world for the next generation, the prosperity of the United States for many decades to come—in fact, the course of history, for as long as short-sighted man should dare to cast its horoscope in a world filled with grim realities and flooded with dark shadows as well as promising rays of light.

TWO BILLION DOLLARS FOR FARMERS

BY JULIAN PIERCE

Meaning and operation of the new law which authorizes the Government to finance the farmers of the United States in their present emergency, enabling them to hold their crops for a better market—Terms on which the loans will be made

PRESIDENT HARDING, on Aug. 24, 1921, approved a law which empowers the Government to lend \$2,000,000,000 to finance the farmers of the United States and the dealers in farm products. The loans are designed to be used for two broad purposes: To enable farmers and dealers in farm products to withhold them from the market until prices reach a profitable point, and to enable farmers who have borrowed money for "agricultural purposes" on short term notes to renew their notes and borrow more money.

The \$2,000,000,000 of "relief" do not reach the producers and dealers directly. The Government, through the War Finance Corporation, will lend the money to the banks and similar institutions. The banks, in turn, will relend the \$2,000,000,000 to the producers of farm products and the middlemen who deal in them. In the term "farm products" is included everything, animate and inanimate, whose habitat is land, from peanuts to watermelons and pumpkins, from day-old chickens to ostriches, from veal calves to fat steers and breeding stock.

This Government adventure is a serious attempt of the Congress of the United States to meet and ameliorate a crisis in American agriculture more severe and threatening than any known in recent years. It is the major measure of the special session

of the Sixty-seventh Congress to restore national prosperity. Congress has a basic theory concerning national prosperity and its causes. That theory rests upon the assumption that the prosperity of all the rest of the people depends upon and starts from the prosperity of the farmers.

It is a rather unusual method—to stimulate prosperity by encouraging debt. Yet, claiming to understand the farmers' condition thoroughly, Congress decides to start the cycle of agricultural good times by enabling the farmers to increase their mortgages by a round two billions of dollars. To understand the plan it is first necessary to get a vision of the present plight of American agriculture.

Present world conditions and industrial farming militate against the farming industry. With modern machine production the farmers produce annually a large surplus of agricultural products—a surplus in excess of the purchasing power of the American people. This surplus of staple farm products, which is chronic in present-day agriculture, must be sold in foreign countries if our agriculture is to thrive.

But the 1920 surplus was larger than usual. There are vast accumulated supplies of cotton, rice, corn, hides, barley, oats and meatstuffs. With the 1920 surplus unsold, the sunshine and the rain and the other

fructifying forces of nature keep rapidly at work producing new crops. The prospects for the 1921 crops are "fair to good." Consequently, an addition to the last year's surplus is visioned.

CAUSE OF THE EMERGENCY

During the war the Department of Agriculture and the Food Administration urged the farmers to produce and produce and then produce. It was their patriotic duty to see how much of every farm product they could raise. Increased production was necessary to feed ourselves and our allies. After the war, increased production was held to be necessary to assist in the economic reconstruction of Europe. Under these influences the farmers acquired the habit of a large output, relying on European demands to take the surplus in excess of American needs at fair prices.

Trade experts predicted that, after the war, commerce with Europe would not only be large and ever larger, due to reconstruction conditions, but they expected that trade would be resumed on the same basis as existed prior to the war. The experts went wrong. After the war Europe did not buy our agricultural products in the quantities which she was accustomed to purchase before the war. Nor did Europe buy those products in the short period of time during which she formerly satisfied her requirements.

Take cotton. Cotton is our leading export commodity. The cotton situation is a fair example of what European conditions have done to the American farmer. In pre-war times European textile manufacturers bought nearly a year's supply of cotton in the Fall; at least 80 per cent. of our cotton exports went abroad in the six months beginning with September, that is, during the first six months of the cotton year. Now it is different. Due to the exchange situation and the general financial situation abroad, European

cotton buyers are buying "from hand to mouth," buying as they need the cotton for immediate use, so that but 40 or 45 per cent. of the cotton crop is marketed during the first six months of the cotton year. The rest of the crop has to be carried over. If it didn't have to be carried over, the present two-billion-dollar Government loan would not have been provided.

The same condition applies in varying degrees to all other agricultural staples. There is a large exportable surplus, *and it has to be carried over*. To accentuate the agricultural depression came the industrial depression. From the railroads down and up manufacturers and other employers dismissed some 6,000,000 workers. Ordinarily, discharged employees do not have cash reserves to draw on. Their purchasing power is limited by the contents of the weekly pay envelope. If their wages are reduced, their purchasing power is diminished. If their wages are stopped, their purchasing power is reduced to nothing. And inasmuch as the workers' wages are largely spent for necessities produced either by the farmers themselves or from farm products, the unemployed army raised the farm products surplus still higher and at the same time reduced the price still lower for what was marketed.

Then, too, in the cost of production the liquidation of prices has hit the farmers harder than any other industrial group. Price adjustment stuck fast when it reached the agriculturalists. They were unable to resist the conditions which forced down the prices of their staple crops. On the other hand, they were insufficiently organized to beat down the prices of the raw materials which they had to have in order to produce those crops.

As the inevitable result of this one-sided price adjustment, the most reliable statistics reveal that hides, cattle, cotton and corn, making up a considerable part of the farmers' output, are selling at less than pre-war prices, while many of the commodities they

are compelled to buy to operate their business still stand at from 50 to 100 per cent. above the pre-war level.

Moreover, in many instances the prices for which they sell their products, if they are compelled to sell, do not meet their costs of production. The farmers declare that they should not be compelled to sell their crops below the cost of production. They go further. They insist that they should be able to secure prices that will give them a reasonable profit. They see but one course to take, and that is to hold their crops until the law of supply and demand raises prices.

Hold their crops! But they have been operating on a credit basis. Their bills are due. Their creditors are clamoring for the settlement of their accounts. Their bankers are "calling" notes. Their credit is exhausted. And unless they can obtain an extension of credit, unless they can obtain more credit, unless they can borrow more money, unless they can run still further into debt, they must sell, and sell at bankrupting prices. With renewed credit, with more credit, they can hold their crops for higher prices. And it is the judgment of Congress and the President that \$2,000,000,000 of Government money should be used for this purpose.

THE FARM CREDIT SYSTEM

Now we come to the farm credit question itself, which in turn must be understood; for, in spite of the huge surplus of farm products and low prices, if farm credit as operated under the private initiative of the banks had functioned adequately the Government would never have intervened with Government credit. Due to the wide extent of tenant farming and to the specialized agriculture of the South, the farm credit system there is complex, and consequently more disorganizing. The credit system exists in a similar form throughout the United States. A picture of

the complex will lead to a clear knowledge of the entire system.

In the South the agricultural credit supply stores are found in every town. Landlord farmers and tenant farmers, commercial farmers and self-employing or "dirt" farmers, all buy their farm supplies on credit during the crop growing season with the understanding that the notes will be paid when the crops are harvested and sold. The farm implement dealer, the fertilizer dealer, the horse and mule dealer, and all the other dealers, load up during the crop growing season with farm paper, which signifies chattel mortgages on the growing crops. But none of these dealers are able to carry these credits. They sell the farm paper to the local banks. The farmers usually settle with the banks at the end of the crop year. And the cycle continues normally. But last year the price of cotton was so low that even the cotton farmers who sold their entire crop were unable to liquidate their chattel mortgages.

In the meantime the bankers had to finance this year's crop, taking the same sort of short-term farm paper. In business and commercial life the Federal Reserve Banks would come to this sort of business distress by loaning Federal Reserve Bank money on short-time commercial paper. But the Federal Reserve Board ruled that it would not make loans on farm paper held by Federal Reserve member banks. Consequently the member banks could not make loans on the farm paper held by the local banks. The local banks were tied down to loaning merely their own resources, which quickly brought the cycle to an end. They have gone as far as they can. The burden is too great for them. Agricultural credit by private initiative does not adequately function. And wholesale bankruptcy is impending in many sections unless the credit situation is relieved.

Extensive selling of staple crops at present prices would menace the entire farming industry. Therefore the

crops must be held until the price situation improves. And to the organized farmers and Congress two billions of Government credit appeared to be the only solution of an impending national calamity. In the language of Senator Simmons of North Carolina:

We are unable to find a present market for our surplus products. The owners of these surplus products, unless they obtain such relief as is now proposed, will be forced to sell that surplus in the markets of this country for whatever it will bring—and that will be whatever speculators in these products wish to pay for them.

If we are to escape this disaster, we must provide some means by which the owners of these surplus products may hold them and carry them over, not for a day or a month, but as long as is reasonably necessary in order to enable Europe and other markets of the world to take them as they are needed and can be purchased for consumption.

What we need to relieve the situation is a provision to advance money to enable the producer of agricultural products to carry those products until they can be marketed in an orderly way.

In short, the farmer's money, with which he buys a living for himself and family and operates his farming business, comes from the sale of his crops. If he holds one crop, or a portion of one crop, while he is growing another crop, he must borrow the money required to keep the food flowing and the new crops growing. The loanable money supply of the local banks is exhausted. And the only other source of supply is the money fund of the Government of the United States. And Congress starts the adventure with an authorization for \$2,000,000,000 of Government money for the "relief" of producers of and dealers in agricultural products.

The language of the law is clear as to the purposes for which the Government money is to be loaned. The Government's agent is the War Finance Corporation. And the law declares that whenever the Board of Directors of the War Finance Corporation is of the opinion that economic conditions "have resulted in or may result in an abnormal surplus ac-

cumulation of any staple agricultural product of the United States or lack of a market for the sale of same or that ordinary banking facilities are inadequate to enable producers of or dealers in such products to *carry them until they can be exported or sold for export in an orderly manner*," then the corporation is empowered to loan \$2,000,000,000 to enable the producers and dealers to hold staple farm products until the increased demand enables them to be sold in an "orderly manner," which, of course, means in a manner that will result in a profit.

HOW LOANS ARE MADE

The War Finance Corporation is empowered to make loans to various classes of people associated with the farming industry, usually through the medium of banks or similar money loaning institutions. To relieve the persons whom Senator Simmons had specifically in mind the corporation is authorized to make loans to "any bank, banker, or trust company in the United States, or to any co-operative association of producers in the United States which may have made advances for *agricultural purposes*, including the breeding, raising, fattening, and marketing of live stock." Note the breadth of the term "agricultural purposes." Inasmuch as the Secretary of Agriculture, who is a farmer, is a member of the Board of Directors of the War Finance Corporation, while the rest of the members, including Eugene Meyer Jr., the Managing Director, are bankers, there promises to be some interesting board discussions as to the interpretation and inclusiveness of "agricultural purposes."

The corporation is also authorized to make loans to the so-called Edge law banks; to any bank, banker, or trust company in the United States which has made or makes loans to any concern, individual or association engaged in dealing in or marketing or producing staple agricultural export commodities,

provided such loans have been made or are made to enable the borrowers to carry such products until they are exported or sold for export in an orderly manner; to any concern in the United States dealing in or marketing the products; to any association of persons engaged in producing such products; and to any individual engaged either in producing, dealing in, or marketing the products.

Outside of the United States, the corporation may loan money to any concern purchasing exportable products in the United States. This provision will enable us to finance foreign concerns which wish to purchase agricultural products on long-time negotiable securities.

The Edge law banks were authorized by the Edge law and given certain privileges to finance our export trade. The idea underlying the law was that the banks would sell American commodities in foreign countries on long-time payments, issue Edge law bank bonds in the United States with the European notes as security and sell them to the American investors, use the funds so acquired to finance more exports sold on the same terms, sell more Edge law bank bonds to more investors, and continue the process indefinitely.

Actual experience under existing conditions indicated that the investment market was a little chary of the foreign securities which were the basis of the Edge banks' activities. So the two Edge law banks already organized have not undertaken to sell their debentures. But now the present law bill for "agricultural relief" is to extend to the Edge law banks. In his testimony before the House Committee on Banking and Currency, Eugene Meyer Jr., Managing Director of the War Finance Corporation, made it clear that it is the intention of the corporation to use a portion of the \$2,000,000,000 to put the Edge law banks on their feet and sustain them while they are endeavoring to acquire the ability to navigate with safety the troublesome waters

of international finance. Mr. Meyer said:

We thought that by giving the War Finance Corporation authority to purchase some of these debentures (debentures of the Edge law banks), thus co-operating in the marketing of them in the public investment market, we might accelerate the coming into usefulness of the Edge law banks, which Congress hoped would add materially to the banking resources of the country in our foreign trade.

In order that every money loaning institution in the United States may participate in the distribution of the \$2,000,000,000 of Government money to the farmers and dealers, the law specifically declares that the words "bank, banker, or trust company" shall be held to include "any reputable and responsible financing institution incorporated under the laws of any State or of the United States with resources adequate to the undertaking contemplated."

This definition lets in national banks, State banks, private banks, savings banks, in fact, any reputable person or persons engaged in the money loaning business, provided the loans which they have made or make are for "agricultural purposes," and especially if the loans are made to assist people to hold farm products for higher prices; or, to use the language of the act, to assist people to hold the products until they can be marketed in an "orderly manner." It is estimated that something over 31,000 banks will qualify as go-betweens in passing the money from the War Finance Corporation to the farmers and dealers in farm products.

But the banks and similar institutions are not permitted to profiteer with the Government funds. They are prohibited from charging more than 2 per cent. per annum in excess of the interest which the corporation charges them. It is expected that the corporation will fix 6 per cent. as its rate. It is also expected that the bankers will add the maximum differential. So that the people who wish to hold farm products for higher

prices will pay at least 8 per cent. for the privilege.

Should the War Finance Corporation make the maximum loans authorized by the law, namely, \$2,000,000,000, the farmers' and dealers' annual interest charge at 8 per cent. will amount to \$160,000,000, of which the banks will take \$40,000,000 as their 2 per cent.

The impression has gone abroad that individual farmers and dealers will be able to borrow money from the War Finance Corporation. There is a provision in the law which permits the corporation to make loans to individuals. But it was inserted for psychological effect. It is what is called a legislative "joker," which will be eliminated by administrative processes.

Lastly, the agrarians responsible for the law saw to it that its time terms are flexible enough to accommodate even such a long turnover agricultural business as stock raising. It is provided that the notes given by the farmers may be extended to a

maximum period of three years from the date of the original loan.

The "agricultural relief" law makes no appropriation to provide the funds from which the loans may be made. How is the War Finance Corporation going to get the money? Mostly by selling the credit of the United States Government. The corporation is capitalized at \$500,000,000, fully paid up. The Secretary of the Treasury bought all the capital stock for the Government, paying cash for it. This was during the war. The corporation loaned considerable money, and has got the most of it back with interest. At present it has about \$500,000,000 in cash in its Treasury, which will keep it going for a few weeks. As for the remaining \$1,500,000,000, Congress authorized the corporation to raise that by borrowing it from the investing public by issuing War Finance Corporation bonds at an attractive rate of interest, made more attractive by the usual tax-exempt provision inherent in Government bonds.

THE HALL OF THE LAST SUPPER

THE Italian press has recently published several articles claiming from the British Government the possession of the famous Coenaculum, or Chamber of the Last Supper, at Jerusalem. The ground of this claim is historical. King Robert the Wise of Naples, the patron of "il gran Petrarca," in 1333 purchased the Coenaculum from the Sultan of Egypt, then ruler over the Holy Land. Granted by him to the Franciscans as a permanent abode, it remained in their possession until 1449. It was again given to the monkish fraternity in 1470, and it remained in their custody until 1547, when the Moslems expelled them on the ground that the subterranean chambers held the tomb of David, especially revered by the Moslems. From that date down to 1918 the Coenaculum remained under continuous Moslem control.

Shortly after the armistice the Italian Government made a separate arrangement, without the assent of the Allies, with the

Sultan of Turkey. Under this agreement the Coenaculum was ceded to the King of Italy as heir of the Angevin Kings of Naples. Italy, as the chief Catholic country of Europe, feels that not only by historical, but also by religious right, this holy place should be hers. The beautiful frescoes at Milan depicting the Last Supper are but a part of her artistic claim. It is understood, however, that another Catholic country—Spain—also claims the custody of the Coenaculum.

The British position is very simple. The Government merely points to Article 95 of the Treaty of Sèvres, under which a special commission was appointed "to study and regulate all claims relating to the different religious communities" in Palestine. The Italian claim obviously falls within this category. As the mandatory power over Palestine, Great Britain, of course, has now a strong claim of its own to possession of the hall sacred to all Christianity.

THE MONTH IN THE UNITED STATES

Fate of German property seized by the Alien Property Custodian during the war finally determined—Overthrow of the New York Soldiers' Bonus act—Tax Revision bill passed—Serious labor troubles in West Virginia

[PERIOD ENDED SEPT. 12, 1921]

IN a conference on Aug. 31 between President Harding and Colonel Thomas W. Miller, the Alien Property Custodian, questions were discussed dealing with the formation of a policy governing the ultimate disposition of German and Austrian property seized during the war. Colonel Miller said that, under the provisions of the peace treaty with Germany, it was indicated that property now in the hands of the Alien Property Custodian would be held by this Government until arrangements had been made by Germany and Austria for the satisfaction of claims of American citizens against those Governments arising before the United States entered the war, the most outstanding examples of which were those for the Lusitania sinking. It is understood that such claims total about \$400,000,000.

The property holdings in this country consist not only of industrial establishments, which are being operated by the Alien Property Custodian, but many million dollars' worth of securities, which in the present state of the market are at a low figure, but which will increase in value if the security market advances.

WAR LAW STATUS

Attorney General Daugherty, it was stated on Aug. 27, had been requested by President Harding to have the Department of Justice make a

report on the war and emergency legislation that will be affected by the new peace treaty between this country and Germany.

Considerable uncertainty existed respecting the time the various unreppealed wartime laws and joint resolutions have to run, and this had caused some trouble to legal officers in the different executive branches of the Government. One reason for the puzzle was the fact that Congress proceeded with no uniformity in the enactment of its wartime legislation. Some of the acts were to terminate at "the end of the present war," others were enacted for the "period of the war," or until after "the existing state of war between the United States and its enemies shall have terminated"; and still other phraseological forms were used.

THE BERGDOLL SCANDAL

The special Congressional committee which investigated the escape of Grover Cleveland Bergdoll, the draft deserter, who fled while on a journey leading to an as yet unfound "pot of gold," rendered its report to the House of Representatives on Aug. 18. There were actually two reports, one a majority report signed by Representatives Johnson of Kentucky and Flood of Virginia, both Democrats, and Representative Luhring of Indiana, a Republican; the other a minority report signed by Representatives

Peters of Maine, Chairman of the committee, and McArthur of Oregon, both Republicans.

The majority report charged that while "there are many who participated in the conspiracy leading to Bergdoll's escape and the acquittal of those who brought it about, there are three who are more culpable than the rest," and named in this connection Samuel T. Ansell, formerly Brigadier General in the army and one of Bergdoll's counsel; Colonel John E. Hunt, Commander of Fort Jay, where Bergdoll was confined, and Colonel Charles C. Cresson, who did not come into the case until after the escape, but who prosecuted Colonel Hunt when that officer was court-martialed. Respecting General Ansell, the majority report said:

He is now out of the army. He is beyond the jurisdiction of court-martial proceedings, but provision should be made against his future practice before any of the departments, before any court-martial or in the courts of the District of Columbia or the nation, above whose safety and integrity he has placed gold. Anybody who has seen and heard all of those associated, directly or indirectly, with the plan and manner of Bergdoll's escape, not only must recognize Ansell as the master mind of them all, but as their dominating and controlling spirit.

Colonel Hunt was charged with having participated "criminally" in the escape and Colonel Cresson was accused of laxity in Hunt's prosecution.

The minority report severely criticised Ansell, but held that the evidence did not support the charge that his motives were improper. It held Major Gen. Peter C. Harris, Adjutant General of the army, primarily responsible for the escape, though it absolved him from improper motives. It accused no one directly of conspiracy except Bergdoll, D. Clarence Gibboney, a Bergdoll lawyer; "Judge" Romig, the Bergdoll agent and friend; Joe Stecher, Bergdoll's chauffeur, and "possibly" Mrs. Bergdoll. The report specifically said that no commissioned or non-commissioned officer in the army knowingly participated in a conspiracy or

received or was approached in connection with a bribe.

Both Ansell and Cresson issued vigorous denials of the charges contained in the majority report. The latest news regarding Bergdoll was that he had gone from Germany to Switzerland.

BONUS ACT OVERTHROWN

The New York Court of Appeals ruled on Aug. 31 that the State law providing for the payment of a soldier bonus was unconstitutional, on the ground that it lent the credit of the State for the benefit of individuals. Five Judges concurred in the decision and two dissented. The action was brought to the court on an appeal from the decision of the Appellate Division, which upheld the constitutionality of the State bonus bond issue for \$45,000,000. New York was the first State to declare soldiers' bonus legislation unconstitutional. Nine of the States have sold issues totaling \$69,500,000, and in some of them the bonuses have been paid. In eight other States bond issues totaling \$191,500,000 await referenda to make them effective, and in twenty-one other States \$370,939,200 has been provided in legislation now pending.

BATTLESHIP NOT OBSOLETE

The battleship has not been rendered obsolete by the airplane, in the opinion of the Joint Army and Navy Board, whose report on the recent aerial bombing tests off the Virginia Capes was made public Aug. 19. The opinion of the board, as approved by the Secretaries of War and the Navy, was thus summarized:

(a) The mission of the navy is to control vital lines of transportation upon the sea. If no opposition is met from enemy naval vessels, this mission can be accomplished without entering an enemy's coast zone within which aircraft bases on shore or in sheltered harbors are effective.

(b) Without an effective navy in time of war, a nation must submit to an economic blockade fatal to its trade and the importation of necessary materials for the production of war supplies.

(c) If heavier-than-air craft are to be effective in naval warfare they must have great mobility, and since their radius of action is not great, additional mobility must be obtained by providing mobile bases—i. e., aircraft carriers.

(d) So far as known, no planes large enough to carry a bomb effective against a major ship have been flown from or landed on an airplane carrier at sea. It is probable, however, that future development will make such operations practicable.

(e) Even in the present state of development the aircraft carrier, as exemplified by the *Argus* of the British Navy, is a type essential to the highest efficiency of the fleet.

(f) Aircraft carriers are subject to attack by vessels carrying guns, torpedoes or bombs and will require, as all other types of vessels require, the eventual support of the battleship.

(g) The battleship is still the backbone of the fleet and the bulwark of the nation's sea defense, and will so remain so long as the safe navigation of the sea for purposes of trade or transportation is vital to success in war.

(h) The airplane, like the submarine, destroyer and mine, has added to the dangers to which battleships are exposed, but has not made the battleship obsolete. The battleship still remains the greatest factor of naval strength.

(i) The development of aircraft, instead of furnishing an economical instrument of war leading to the abolition of the battleship, has but added to the complexity of naval warfare.

(j) The aviation and ordnance experiments conducted with the ex-German vessels as targets have proved that it has become imperative as a matter of national defense to provide for the maximum possible development of aviation in both the army and navy. They have proved also the necessity for aircraft carriers of the maximum size and speed to supply our fleet with the offensive and defensive power which aircraft provide, within their radius of action, as an effective adjunct of the fleet. It is likewise essential that effective anti-aircraft armament be developed.

TAX REVISION BILL PASSED

The House of Representatives on Aug. 20, by a vote of 274 to 125, passed the revenue bill, which revised the war revenue laws to raise in taxation about \$3,366,000,000 so as to reduce taxes \$818,000,000 by 1923. Representative Garner, on behalf of the Democrats, moved to recommit the bill in order to cut out the provision repealing the present

surtaxes, which range as high as 76 per cent. The motion was rejected by a vote of 230 to 169. Fifty Republicans deserted their party and joined with the Democrats on this motion, while only one Democrat, Campbell of Pennsylvania, refused to follow his party. On final passage three Democrats voted for the bill and nine Republicans opposed it.

The only important departure from the original intentions of the Ways and Means Committee and the Republican leaders was the decision to repeal the excess profits taxes and reduce the income surtaxes next January. The original bill provided that these should become effective as of Jan. 1 last, but a Republican caucus forced the committee to make the repeal and reduction begin next January, when it is planned to have a 12½ per cent. corporation tax substituted for the repeal of the excess profits tax.

RAIL RELIEF BILL

On Aug. 22 the House, acceding to President Harding's request for railroad relief legislation before taking a recess, passed the Administration bill by a vote of 214 to 123. It was sent to the Senate without substantial amendment. While there was some opposition to the bill, especially against the section which prohibited any of the funds being used to pay the railroads for the alleged inefficiency of labor during Government control, it was not strong enough to force an amendment. Representative Webster of Washington, a Republican member of the Interstate Commerce Commission, offered a motion to strike this section from the bill, which was rejected by a vote of 145 to 17.

ONE LIQUOR BAN LIFTED

Temporary suspension of the customs ban prohibiting intoxicating liquors which are shipped from one foreign country to another from being moved across the United States

was announced by Secretary Mellon on Aug. 17. Mr. Mellon said:

In view of the injunctions granted at Detroit and at New York requiring the Collector of Customs to continue to permit the transportation and exportation entries for liquors in bond, the Treasury Department has deemed it advisable temporarily to suspend its order regarding such shipments. Accordingly, and until otherwise advised, the Collectors of Customs will permit intoxicating liquors shipped from a foreign country to move over the territory of the United States when the destination of such liquors is another foreign country. This has been done so as to avoid the unnecessary multiplication of litigation, and in order that the important questions involved may, if possible, be speedily and finally determined by the court.

Shipments of liquor from a foreign point of origin by way of this country to a foreign destination were held by former Attorney General Palmer in an opinion to be in violation of the prohibition laws. After hearing protests by Canadian shippers against the ruling, Attorney General Daugherty upheld the opinion and early in July customs regulations were promulgated by the Treasury forbidding the in transit shipment of intoxicating beverages across the country.

WEST VIRGINIA "INSURRECTION"

An uprising that proved serious enough to call forth a proclamation from President Harding took place in the latter days of August and the early part of September in Kanawha, Boone, Fayette, Logan and Mingo Counties, W. Va. The outbreak came as a climax to the labor troubles that had convulsed Mingo County for two years past. A struggle had been going on there to unionize the coal fields, and great bitterness had developed between the miners on one hand and the operators, supported by bands of hired detectives, on the other. The avowed purpose of the miners and adventurers who gathered in neighboring countries about Aug. 20 was to march into Mingo County and forcibly unionize the field. Armed bands that were rapidly augmented until they were said to number from 10,000

to 15,000 set out on the march and citizens and State forces were hastily marshaled to oppose them. Desultory warfare ensued, largely of the guerilla or "sniping" variety, and the uprising assumed such alarming proportions that the Governor of the State called upon the Federal Government for help. President Harding issued a proclamation on Aug. 30 ordering the insurrectionists to disperse by noon Sept. 1, and stating that if the order were not obeyed troops would be sent to enforce it.

The proclamation was disregarded, and in consequence a comparatively small force of soldiers under the command of Brig. Gen. H. H. Bandholtz was sent to the troubled area. The effect was almost instantaneous. There was practically no fighting, and large numbers of the miners yielded up their arms, while the bulk of the others dispersed to their homes. By Sept. 10 the troubles were under control and most of the troops were ordered back to their depots. The number of casualties in the fighting was undetermined, but was believed to be small.

REDUCTION OF WAGES

The United States Steel Corporation on Aug. 19 announced another adjustment in the wages of its employes, the third to be put into effect since the decline in steel prices began. It became effective on Aug. 29 and amounted to a reduction of 7 cents an hour for unskilled labor, bringing the wage down to 30 cents an hour, or the level which prevailed on May 1, 1917. Other wages and salaries, it was said, would be equitably adjusted.

On the basis of the ten-hour day, unskilled labor will receive \$3 a day, which is 50 per cent. above the wage paid at the beginning of 1915, but about 40 per cent. below the wages paid on Feb. 1, 1920, when laborers were receiving \$5.06 for a ten-hour day. The high rate was 153 per cent. above the 1915 level.

Judge Landis, sitting as arbiter in

the building trades wage controversy at Chicago, handed down a decision on Sept. 7 which made wage cuts varying from 10 to 33 per cent. from the old uniform rate of \$1.25 an hour for skilled workers.

Workmen on eight of the forty-four building trades ruled upon by Judge Landis will receive less than 85 cents an hour and those in ten crafts which are in the laboring class will receive 70 cents. Considering the elimination of all restrictions on labor-saving machinery and materials, Judge Landis estimated the saving in actual cost of building would be about 20 per cent. The decision opened the Chicago territory to all contracting firms and, according to contractors and union men, prepared the way to renewal of millions of dollars' worth of construction.

The average weekly earnings of factory workers in New York State decreased 13 per cent. from last October to Aug. 1 of this year, according to a statement from the office of Industrial Commissioner Henry D. Sayer, issued Aug. 7.

The State Department of Labor made a special inquiry to ascertain the extent to which reductions in wages had been put into effect in factories, the statement said. Replies were received from nearly 700 plants, which normally employ more than 300,000 workers. About 500 factories with more than 230,000 workers reported having made wage reductions in wage rates of various amounts, while 200 factories with about 75,000 workers reported no reductions.

RETAIL FOOD PRICES RISING

Statistics prepared by the Department of Labor for fifteen principal cities of the United States were issued Sept. 9, and showed that for the month from July 15 to Aug. 15 there was an increase in the retail price of food in all of the cities over the previous thirty days.

The greatest increase, 8 per cent., was in Rochester. Buffalo showed an

increase of 7 per cent.; New York City and Baltimore, 6 per cent.; Milwaukee, Newark and Norfolk, 5 per cent.; Charleston, S. C., Louisville, Manchester and Portland, Me., 4 per cent.; Houston, 3 per cent.; Butte and Dallas, 2 per cent., and Minneapolis, 1 per cent.

For the year period, Aug. 15, 1920, to Aug. 15, 1921, there was a decrease of 30 per cent. in Butte; 28 per cent. in Louisville; 26 per cent. in Baltimore, Charleston, Dallas, Milwaukee and Minneapolis; 25 per cent. in Buffalo, Manchester and Norfolk; 24 per cent. in Houston, Newark, Portland, Me., and Rochester, and 22 per cent. in New York.

As compared with the average cost in the year 1913, the retail cost of food on Aug. 15, 1921, showed an increase of 62 per cent. in Manchester; 60 per cent. in Milwaukee; 50 per cent. in Baltimore and Charleston, S. C.; 50 per cent. in Minneapolis and Newark; 47 per cent. in Dallas, and 43 per cent. in Louisville. Prices were not obtained from Butte, Houston, Norfolk, Portland, Me., or Rochester in 1913.

"REASONABLE" RENT DEFINED

The problem of defining "reasonable rent," which had been the subject of great controversy in the municipal courts of New York, was settled on Aug. 31 by the Appellate Term of the Supreme Court in Brooklyn, N. Y., which ruled that a reasonable rent was a return of 10 per cent. on the present value of a house.

In the opinion, written by Justice Shelby and concurred in by Justices Cropsey and Lazansky, five rules intended for the guidance of municipal courts, landlords and tenants, were promulgated. These involved determining the present fair market value of the premises, the gross rentals demanded by the landlords, the allowable operating expenses for the previous year. Deducting from the gross rental the operating expenses would give the net rental. If this net

rental should not exceed 10 per cent. of the present value of the property, the rent demanded, in the opinion of the judges, would not be unreasonable.

NEW SECRET SERVICE HEAD

Attorney General Daugherty, on Aug. 18, announced the appointment of William J. Burns, head of a private detective agency, whom he had known for years, to be Director of the Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice. Mr. Burns was sworn in Aug. 22, succeeding William J. Flynn. In response to questions, Mr. Daugherty said the appointment of Burns did not necessarily mean that the investigation agencies of the Government would be co-ordinated under the Department of Justice, though there would be some housecleaning. "I have known Mr. Burns

personally for thirty years and have watched him develop in his specialty," Mr. Daugherty said. "The bureau will be reorganized as expeditiously as possible and brought to the highest point of efficiency."

The State Department received on Sept. 3 a telegram from the American Minister at Bangkok announcing that exchange of ratifications of the new treaty of commerce between the United States and Siam was effected on Sept. 1. The document followed in large part the usual lines of such treaties between the United States and other countries. Full fiscal autonomy was accorded to Siam and a protocol was annexed under which the United States surrendered extra-territorial jurisdiction over American citizens in Siam, reserving the right of revocation for a period of five years from the date of the treaty.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE ARMS CONFERENCE

Acceptance of President Harding's invitation by the nations concerned—Messrs. Hughes, Lodge, Root and Underwood, our representatives in the conference—Preparations for the great event

THE British Government's formal acceptance of President Harding's invitation to the Washington conference of Nov. 11 on limitation of armaments and for a discussion of international problems presented by the Pacific and the Far East, was received on Aug. 22 by Secretary Hughes and made public at the State Department. It took the form of a note from Lord Curzon, the British Foreign Minister, to Colonel George Harvey, United States Ambassador to Great Britain, expressive of the British Government's "ready" acceptance of the invitation, with the "earnest and confident hope that the conference might achieve far-reach-

ing results conducive to the prosperity and peace of the world." The text of the British note follows:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the invitation proffered to his Majesty's Government by the Government of the United States to participate in a conference at Washington, beginning on the 11th of November next, for the discussion of the limitation of armaments and in connection therewith of the international problems presented by the Pacific and Far East.

It is with sincere gratification that I have the honor on behalf of his Majesty's Government to request your Excellency to convey to the United States Government our ready acceptance of their invitation to take part in this auspicious meeting, with the object of which his Majesty's Government and the British nation are in wholehearted sympathy. It is the earnest and con-

fidant hope of his Majesty's Government that this conference approached, as it will be, by all concerned in a spirit of courage, friendliness and mutual understanding, may achieve far-reaching results that will be conducive to the prosperity and peace of the world.

The Japanese reply to the invitation was communicated to the American Government on Aug. 24, and, apart from one modification, was a hearty acceptance. Reciting that the peace and welfare of the world had long been an object of solicitude to the Japanese Government and people, the note asserted that the Japanese Government warmly welcomed the idea of the limitation of armaments as a means of removing from industry and cultural development the deadening burden created by competitive armaments.

Japan had a pre-eminently vital interest in the preservation of the peace of the Pacific and the Far East, the note declared, and she regarded the discussion and removal of any causes of misunderstanding that might exist and the arrival at an eventual agreement with regard to general principles and their application which would insure friendship, as of great value and importance. The part of the note bearing on the proposed modification read as follows:

The Japanese Government gladly concurs in the proposal of the United States that the scope of the discussion of Pacific and Far Eastern problems shall be made the subjects of a free exchange of views prior to the assembly of the conference. They hope that the agenda of the conference will in this way be arranged in harmony with the suggestion made in the memorandum of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs of July 26, 1921, bearing on the same subject, in order that the labors of the conference may meet speedily with the fullest measure of successful achievement.

In the memorandum referred to (the full text of which was published in September *CURRENT HISTORY*, p. 920), the Japanese Government expressed as an implied condition of acceptance the opinion that the agenda should be arranged prior to the assembly of the conference, and that "introduction therein of prob-

lems such as are of sole concern to certain particular powers, or matters that may be regarded as accomplished facts, should be scrupulously avoided."

China also, on Aug. 18, accepted the invitation to take part in the conference, as far as its discussions might bear upon Pacific and Far Eastern problems, and expressed satisfaction that she had been put on a footing of equality with other Governments in "this beneficent movement."

Because of the opposition of Senator Lodge, one of the American delegates to the conference for the limitation of armaments, Senator Harrison, Democrat, of Mississippi, withdrew on Aug. 23, before a vote could be had, his amendment to the Shipping Board Deficiency Appropriation bill directing the American delegates "to use every effort and exert every influence to have the sessions of the conference held in public and not behind closed doors." Senator Lodge declared that the adoption of the amendment would be an exhibition of "futile bad manners" and an "incivility" to the great nations invited by the President to participate in the conference.

In withdrawing his amendment, Senator Harrison announced that this did not mean the abandonment of the fight to have the sessions held in the open. When the Congress reconvened, following the thirty days' recess, he would reintroduce the amendment, he stated, in the form of an independent joint resolution, and would make an effort to bring it to a vote before the conference convened on Armistice Day.

It was determined on Aug. 26 that the conference for the limitation of armaments would be held in the Hall of the Americas of the Pan American Union Building in Washington. On that date, Senor Don Beltram Mathieu, the Chilean Ambassador to the United States, who is also Vice President of the Governing Board of the Pan American Union, sent a let-

ter to Secretary Hughes, offering the use of the building for the conference. The Secretary hastened to reply, accepting the offer and expressing the sincere thanks of the American Government for the action taken. The building stands at the corner of Seventeenth and B Streets, N. W., about three blocks south of the State Department Building, and is in the midst of a group which will also be utilized in connection with the Washington conference.

It was announced at the State Department on Aug. 27 that the United States, as host at the conference, would provide the machinery of the sessions and bear the expense of the Secretariat General, the corps of translators and stenographers and all bills for official printing.

The White House on Sept. 9 stated that the main American delegation to the conference would consist of four members. These would be Charles Evans Hughes, Secretary of State; Henry Cabot Lodge, Senator from Massachusetts, Chairman of

the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and Republican floor leader in the Senate; Elihu Root, former Secretary of State, also former Secretary of War, ex-Senator from New York and member of The Hague Tribunal; and Oscar W. Underwood of Alabama, former Democratic floor leader in the House, father of the Underwood Tariff law and present leader of the Democratic minority in the Senate.

The statement also was authorized from the White House that the main delegation from each country participating in the conference would comprise four members, who would sit in the sessions, although each delegation would be assisted by an advisory group of indefinite number, the members of which would be designated as "advisory members." The advisory council to be appointed to assist the main American delegation would consist of twelve persons, and these would be chosen for their expert qualifications in military, naval, aeronautic, political and economic knowledge.

HISTORIC RUNNYMEDE NOT FOR SALE

RUNNYMEDE is a name which to every Englishman and American spells liberty, for it was on that quiet meadow by the Thames, between Windsor and Staines, that the embattled armies of the English barons, on June 15, 1215, after defeating King John, wrested from him the priceless Magna Charta, on which the liberties of all English-speaking peoples are founded. Yet that historic meadow was recently put up for sale as an ordinary bit of grazing land by the Commissioner of Woods and Forests, who was getting only \$660 a year from the three tenant farmers who were using it. Instantly all England rang with an outcry of protest. The Government quickly realized that these ninety-nine acres of former Crown land in the Parish of Egham were

more than so much sheep pasture in the esteem of the nation—that the people still regarded it with an almost religious devotion, and would not tolerate its being sold into private hands. So the Minister of Agriculture, Sir Arthur Boscawen, decided to withdraw "Lot 8" from sale, and so informed the House of Commons on Aug. 10, 1921. His announcement was made in reply to an interpellation which inquired whether he was aware that this historic property was not only "one of the beauty spots of England," but was also looked upon with feelings of the utmost veneration "by all the English-speaking democracies in the world." His announcement that Runnymede would be retained as Crown property was hailed with universal approval.

ITALY'S CRIMINALS IN THE UNITED STATES

BY TOMMASO SASSONE

The facts regarding the high percentage of violent crimes committed in American cities by men of South Italian birth or parentage—Evil methods and ideals of the Camorra and Mafia transplanted from Italy to this country

[The writer of this article has made careful researches, and his statements are authentic. The better element of Italians in this country, who comprise the overwhelming majority, deplore the carnival of crime due to groups transplanted from Southern Italy, and are sympathetic with all efforts to bring the criminals to justice.—Editor Current History.]

CRIMES of violence in our larger cities have recently become an increasingly ominous feature of current news, and no careful observer can have failed to notice the preponderance of Italian names in this evil record.

A part of the prevailing lawlessness, no doubt, is due to the extraordinary conditions following the World War. After all wars the disbanding of armies causes social irregularities, but the circumstances in this case have been intensified. When the men were called to the army, great numbers of women were engaged in their places, and often in employments never before filled by women. After the armistice there was a disposition to restore soldiers to their jobs, but in many cases the men have found themselves permanently displaced. Some of these, destitute and confronted by an abnormal cost of living, took to crime to supply their living need. A world-wide industrial depression has come, throwing vast numbers of men and women out of work. These conditions have been responsible for a share of the prevailing crimes, especially those against property.

But there is a criminal class that

comes under an entirely different category. This class is not a fortuitous product of great social disturbances. It is a transplanted product. To this class crime is not a makeshift, but a trade and a cult. Its crimes are not solitary or sporadic, but deliberate and organized.

In the list of recent crimes the operations of what are popularly called the "Black Hand" have been markedly prominent. Robbery, blackmail and murder are its inevitable handiwork. A short time ago 5-year-old Giuseppe Verotta was kidnapped in New York City, and, because his father would not or could not pay a ransom of \$2,500, was thrown into the river and drowned. Reports from other cities constantly tell of the murderous activities of the "Black Hand." With alarming frequency murder succeeds murder, and, as if protected by some mysterious, powerful influence, the murderers usually succeed in escaping.

Only last year the United States Government sent Captain Michael Fiaschetti of the New York police force to Italy to demand of its Government the capture of thirty-two murderers who had returned there from America. On the very day that Captain Fiaschetti disembarked at Naples Lieutenant Giuseppe Monda, who, after amassing wealth in America, had returned to Italy for war service, was waylaid, shot and

killed by two masked persons a few yards away from his house. While in Italy Captain Fiaschetti arrested a murderer who two years previously had killed two persons on Brooklyn Bridge. In August, 1921, confessions were obtained in New York City from members of an Italian "murder syndicate" believed to have been responsible for more than 125 assassinations in New York City, Detroit, Buffalo, Pittsburgh, Chicago and Bridgeport during the last four years.

Of the foreign-born inhabitants of New York City the greatest proportionate number of convictions in the courts are those of Italians. Leading New York's foreign-born population of 1,991,547 are people from Russia totaling 479,765, and next come 388,978 Italians, but the percentage of crime is greater among the Italians. The latest available report of the Department of Correction—that of 1919—shows that 4,392 Italian prisoners were committed to the workhouse, penitentiary and other city penal institutions, while the number of Russian-born persons sentenced was 5,046. Russian prisoners were numerically greater, but proportionately less, than Italian, the percentage of Italians to their total number being 1.13, Russians 1.05. The crimes for which Italians were imprisoned were generally of a more serious nature than those of other nationalities. Assaults, burglary, robbery, blackmail, extortion, carrying dangerous weapons, and other such offenses were common grounds for convictions of Italians.

The greatest number of foreign-born convicts in New York State's prisons—Auburn, Clinton, Great Meadow and Sing Sing—are Italians. Of a total of 928 foreign-born convicts in these prisons the 1920 report of the New York State Commissioner of Prisons states that 378 were Italians—about 40 per cent.—whereas their percentage of the total should be 19. The foreign nationality having the next largest number was the Russian, of which there were 171 convicts.

Assaults, robbery, abduction, kidnapping and homicide were among the chief crimes committed by Italians, and larceny figured prominently among those by Russians. The New York State penitentiaries have fewer Italian prisoners than Irish, Russian, or Austrian, but their offenses are usually grave. In the New York State reformatories Italians lead all other foreign-born prisoners.

How does it happen that the Italian nationality has become so conspicuously identified in America with blackmail, kidnapping, murder and bomb outrages? What, furthermore, is the "Black Hand"? Is it a myth or a reality?

To get a clear understanding of the addiction of certain sections of Italians to crime it is necessary to go far back and describe antecedents. Northern Italians have different traits and characteristics from those of the South, and again the Sicilians have dispositions and traditions different from the mainland peoples. In Southern Italy for years homicide has been five times and assault three times more frequent than in Northern Italy, while in Southern Italy five robberies occur for every one in the North. The Sicilian records have shown seven times the homicide, four times the brigandage and four times the obscene crimes committed by Northern Italians. Manslaughter and murder have been fourteen times more frequent in Sardinia than in Lombardy.

It is from Southern Italy that 80 per cent. of Italian emigrants to the United States have come, and 70 per cent. of these have been illiterate. But illiteracy has not been the worst evil brought over. The most vicious and malignant influence transplanted here has been that of two powerful and dreaded secret societies—the Camorra, with headquarters at Naples, and the Mafia of Sicily. A description of the origin and development of these will tend to explain how it was that brigandage and mur-

der became recognized industries in Southern Italy.

THE CAMORRA

The Camorra is both a society and a system. Writers disagree as to the derivation of the name, as the word is not taken either from the Italian language or the Neapolitan dialect. The usual assumption is that it comes from the name of a Spaniard, Gamurra. Saturated with the old ideas of chivalry, he conceived the idea of founding at Naples, in the sixteenth century, a society for the suppression of robbers and bandits on the highways. At that period Naples was under Spanish domination and was a haven for the worst element of Spanish cutthroats. Gamurra's organization gradually became known as the "Onorata Società della Camorra"—the Honorable Society of the Camorra. It became a notable power. As the roads between Naples and other cities were infested by highwaymen, the aid of the members of the Camorra was abundantly sought as escorts, for which service they were paid.

It was not long before adventurers saw a fertile opportunity to avail themselves of the Camorra's functions to enrich themselves. Under the mask of disinterested service they entered the society, and when assigned to protect travelers would, after they had set out on escort, refuse to do their part unless lavishly rewarded. If their demands were not complied with they would send word to the highwaymen, and when the traveler was attacked contrive to be absent from the scene. The robbers would share the proceeds with the confederate escorts, and, in fact, the two became a kind of union. By successive stages the Camorra degenerated into a society of extortioners, blackmailers and bandits who did not scruple to commit murder when thought necessary.

But the Camorra was something more than a criminal organization. It professed to have a patriotic side,

warring secretly against political domination of Naples and the adjacent country by foreigners. To assault or slay a foreign official was esteemed a praiseworthy act, and to give information to the authorities was scorned as the deed of a traitor. It was this patriotic phase that enlisted the support of many influential natives who would not have entered a criminal organization. The leaders of the Camorra became rich, and when the feudal and later the ecclesiastical estates were broken up and sold, many of them bought land and became great landlords, respectable to all appearances. Their power in the Camorra, like their estates, frequently descended from father to son.

After the consolidation of the various Italian States into the Kingdom of Italy the patriotic phase vanished, and the Camorra became and has remained a politico-criminal organization. Its ramifications have extended from the highest to the lowest strata of society. Under its two executive heads—the Capo, or Chief, and the Treasurer—the Camorra has a corps of twenty-four leaders, two for each district of Naples. In turn each of these leaders has forty-eight *picciotti*, or probationers—men who have already served an apprenticeship in crime. Assisting the *picciotti* are the "honorary members," usually men of shady careers masking their activities under the cloak of some semi-respectable business.

The whole society is divided traditionally, although not actually, into two classes—the Alta, or Higher, Camorra and the Bassa, or Lower. The Alta has concerned itself with the more important affairs, such as political intrigues, corruption of officials, large robberies and assassinations. To the Bassa has been given the function of levying blackmail on petty gamblers, pickpockets, sneak thieves and other violators of the laws and seeing that they are completely subservient to the political and other designs of the Alta. Assassinations decreed by the inner circle or court

of the Camorra have usually been carried out by means of what is called the "*dichiaremento*," or picked quarrel. The intended victim has been isolated from his friends in some restaurant, surrounded by his enemies, drawn into a quarrel and finally stabbed as though the act were done in self-defense.

THE MAFIA

The Mafia is distinct from the Camorra and is peculiar to Sicily. It originated as a secret political society, the object of which was to rid the island of foreign rule. But it also has been aptly described as a mixture of felony and patriotism. As in the case of Ireland's attitude toward England, Sicily has long nursed grievances against the Italian mainland, accusing it of both exploiting and neglecting it. Centuries of foreign domination and oppressive government long ago bred in the people of Sicily a contempt for law and a hatred for authority.

Any Sicilian who applied to the authorities for help, or gave them any kind of information, was condemned as acting in bad faith toward his fellow-Sicilians. Long insistence on this code gave criminals practical immunity. Like the Camorra, the Mafia has two branches, a high and a low. The members of the low Mafia are the instruments used by the high Mafia in attending to the slanders, persecutions, perjuries, conspiracies, blackmailing, robberies and murders ordered by the high Mafia. Controlling the high Mafia have been men of social and administrative rank who have unhesitatingly destroyed the career or life of any foe. Everywhere in Sicily there has long been a dread of the Mafia, and no Sicilian, under peril of death, has dared to divulge its crimes to the authorities.

Powerful Sicilian politicians have supported and protected the Mafia as a necessary league for the defense of Sicilian interests. During the reign of King Humbert, Senator Count Condonchi was personally appointed

by that King as High Commissioner for Sicily for the express purpose of stamping out the Mafia there. He tried hard to suppress it, but failed. "It exercises its baleful influence all over Sicily," he said; "all fear it, and in order to secure their property and persons, people are compelled to submit to its behests. Its power knows no obstacles, not even at the hands of the Government." The Mafia, in fact, drove Condonchi into retirement.

Two codes persist in Sicily. One is the vendetta; the other is "*onestà*." The highest national virtue in Sicily is "*onestà*" (literally, honestly), meaning that one must never in any way assist the authorities by giving information of crimes within one's knowledge, even if he himself is the victim. So strong is the hold of this code that if a man has been badly or even fatally wounded he will stanchly deny all knowledge of the identity of his assailant. Should he recover, he will make it his life mission to avenge himself; but nothing will induce him to turn informer or "*cascittuno*," which is considered the most opprobrious term in the Sicilian dialect. "If I live, I shall kill you; if I die, I forgive you," runs the old Sicilian saying, which is the keynote of Sicilian action.

The vendetta originally was caused by retaliation against foreign officials sent to rule the island. Finding it impossible to have them removed or punished for oppression, the natives often disposed of them by assassination, which became exalted as a laudable act. In the course of time the idea was elaborated into the doctrine that clans, families or individuals had the right to take private vengeance. Sometimes the grievance was personal, sometimes economic, and often both.

At least two-thirds of the owners of proprietary estates in Sicily have long been absentee landlords. Salviola, in his book on the subject, describes them as descended from bandits and extortioners, and Alongi, in his treatise, traces their beginnings to organized robbery. The men, he says, who

became proprietary landlords "were energetic, audacious characters and masters of that robber class from which they sprung and which even then were called Mafia." Their descendants were often unscrupulous. They violated families and forced agricultural laborers to work for the poorest kind of pay, frequently as low as a few cents a day. Against their outrages and tyrannies the people felt that they had no legal way of striking back. So the vendetta became the established method, and the stiletto or pistol was used to obtain a satisfaction denied by law itself. The vendetta requires an implacable memory and a vigilant noting of the auspicious moment to strike. For ten, perhaps twenty years, the marked victim may go his way confidently and unsuspectingly. Suddenly he is murdered, and so mysteriously that there is not a clue to the motive or perpetrator.

TRANSPLANTED TO AMERICA

It was not until recent decades that the activities of the Camorra and Mafia were transplanted to America. In 1879 the total immigration from Italy was only 5,791. In 1880 to 1890 it ranged from 12,000 to 52,000 a year, chiefly from the south of Italy. The police in different cities noted the increasing number of murders among Italians, but there was then not an Italian member of any police force, and the sources and causes of the murders remained mysteries.

A succession of dramatic events in New Orleans first fixed the attention of the American people upon the fact that a new and dangerous criminal element had fastened itself here. For years secret murders had baffled the New Orleans police. Witnesses always knew nothing, and invariably the victim would refuse to identify the murderer. The source of these outrages, it transpired later, was a secret society with 300 members who would kill any one standing in the way of their designs.

There were two factions of Italian

stevedores, one of which had supplanted the other in the profitable business of unloading fruit. On the night of May 5, 1890, the ousted party ambushed and attacked seven of their successful competitors on the street and riddled three with slugs from shotguns. The victims recovered; but as the Louisiana law defined shooting with intent to murder while lying in wait as a capital offense, the six Italians convicted were sentenced to life imprisonment.

Later in the same year—though as a separate episode—came the assassination of Chief of Police David C. Hennessy. About a dozen years previously Hennessy had incurred the hostility of the lawless Italian element in New Orleans. He had arrested and shipped to New York the notorious bandit Esposito, who was then deported to Italy, tried and convicted. Hennessy had also learned certain secrets of Italian societies transplanted from Italy. A vendetta was proclaimed, and the Chief of Police was marked for death. Year after year assassins grimly waited, until on the evening of Oct. 16, 1890, he was shot down as he was entering his house.

This was the first instance of an American victim of the vendetta. Some persons unfamiliar with Italian conditions declared it to be the work of the Camorra, but this was unlikely, for a traditional rule of the Camorra was never to take revenge on a police official. It was the work of the Mafia. There was great excitement in New Orleans. A Committee of Fifty was organized, arrests were made, and the prosecution pushed. When on March 13, 1891, the verdict was given, a great multitude surrounded the Court House. It expected conviction of the six prisoners, for the evidence was strong against them. But, to the surprise of every one, they were acquitted. Charges were made alleging bribery. "It is known," said a dispatch from New Orleans, "that large sums of money have been received and expended by the defense.

The amount is estimated as high as \$75,000 or \$100,000. Italians all over the country are made to contribute \$2 apiece. Thousands of dollars have come from New York and Chicago, and every day brings in more collections."

Prominent New Orleans citizens issued a call for a mass meeting the next day at Clay Statue. A big crowd attended. "The law has proved a farce and a mockery," said Mr. Parkerson, one of the speakers. "Are we to tolerate organized assassination?" The crowd went to the prison, forced the doors and shot down eleven Italian murderers. Italian Consul Corte admitted that the Mafia society was strong in New Orleans and that he and Father Manoritta had been warned to keep out of the Hennessy case. Father Manoritta had been told by a friend that more than 360 bandits in New Orleans were being protected by the Mafia society. They had managed to escape from Italy, where many had been convicted and sentenced to be imprisoned or hanged.

The Italian Government made an international issue of the matter, professing horror at the incident, although no one knew better than it did the appalling frequency of murder in Italy. After capital punishment had been abolished in Italy, in 1875, murders had greatly increased. In 1890 and following years Italy exceeded all other countries in the number of its murders; its annual list was about 2,470, a ratio of 29.4 per 10,000 deaths; Spain followed with 1,200 annual murders, a ratio of 23.8 per 10,000 deaths.

American public sentiment supported the action of the New Orleans citizens, and even English publicists such as Moreton Frewen approved it. Whatever the abstract considerations of the affair, it had one notable practical effect. Criminal Italians thereafter were more careful to respect the lives of American officials. The long roll of their lawless acts continued,

but it was mostly a case of Italian against Italian.

INRUSH OF SOUTH ITALIANS.

Immigration of Italians annually increased, reaching the 100,000 mark in 1900. Its proportions grew yearly, going to 285,731 in 1907, falling off somewhat in each of the succeeding years and then swelling to 265,542 in 1913 and 283,738 in 1914. From 1901 to 1910 there were 2,045,877, and from 1911 to 1918 a further 1,012,495 Italian immigrants were admitted. The bulk of this inrush was composed of people from South Italy. Thus in 1909 there were 165,248 from South Italy and only 25,150 from North Italy, and the same proportion was generally true of the Italian immigration of each following year.

Great numbers of these immigrants had not the slightest intention of becoming American citizens. Their sole aim was to amass some money as quickly as possible and return to Italy. The standards and influences of their home regions followed them here, dominated them, and impelled them to go back. In 1905 fully 31 per cent. returned; the next year 38 per cent., and in 1907 the rush back to Italy reached 62 per cent. From 1908 to 1910 at least 30 to 42 per cent. of Italian immigrants went back to Italy. Many later returned to America, but it was with a renewed infusion of the spirit, ways and methods of their native land, chiefly South Italy.

A change now came in some American cities. It was welcomed by honest, law-abiding Italians and equally resented by the criminal Italian element. In cities where there were large Italian colonies administrations began to put officers of Italian extraction on their detective forces. These policemen knew how to deal with their countrymen.

One of the ablest of these detectives was Police Lieutenant Joseph Petrosini, on the New York City force. He

arrested many Italian criminals who had committed crimes both in America and Italy. One of his noted arrests was that of Errico Alfana. Early in 1906, members of the Camorra attended a banquet in Naples and decided on the execution of Gennaro Cuocolo and his wife. He was a Camorrist with a long criminal record; both he and his wife, Marie Cutinelli, a woman of a much tarnished past, had somehow incurred the enmity of various Camorra members. The Cuocolos were murdered in May, 1906. The Naples police made a show of investigation, but that was all. Finally one of the King's relatives, reported to be the Duke of the Abruzzi, complained to the King of the inactivity of the regular police. Thereupon the military police were put vigorously at work upon the case.

Errico Alfana, one of the Camorra leaders, fled to New York City. Petrosini located him. One afternoon Petrosini approached and said, "Errico, do you want to submit right away, or shall we have to extradite you?" "I am a gentleman," Alfana replied, "and this is hard on my nerves. But I will go back to Italy, as you say." When, in 1909, Petrosini was sent to Italy to bring back some criminals wanted for murder, he was shot and killed in Palermo. The perpetrators of this crime have never been discovered.

The Italian Government did seriously try to break up the Camorra and punish those of its members accused of the murder of the Cuocolo couple. The Camorra called into action every possible influence to delay the trial, hoping meanwhile to get rid of witnesses who had turned State's evidence. The trial of eight accused Camorrists, however, was at last begun at Viterbo in 1911 and lasted sixteen months. The official report of its proceedings occupied 40,000 pages and filled sixty-three volumes. Former Mayor George B. McClellan of New York City, who had formerly resided in Italy, attended the trial, and it was to him that Abatemaggio,

one of the chief witnesses, thus described the Camorra: "It will do anything you hire it to do. It will kill your enemy or carry you an election or bring you your heart's desire."

In July, 1912, the eight Camorrist chiefs on trial were found guilty and each sentenced to thirty years' imprisonment at hard labor. On hearing this sentence Dr. Marinas, one of the prisoners, cut his throat in court. But later a rehearing of the case was granted on the allegation that seven principal witnesses had committed perjury. Then came the war and the hearing was delayed because of the absence at the front of important witnesses. There has been no recent cable dispatch as to the final disposition of the case.

IN AMERICAN CITIES.

The enormous increase of crimes in the United States, especially those of personal violence, led to an investigation of immigration and crime by a joint committee of Congress. This committee reported (United States Senate Document No. 750, 1911), that in gainful offenses, such as burglary and robbery, Americans exceeded. Of immigrants the Russians led in larceny, the French in prostitution, and the Greeks in violations of city ordinances. Then the report went on:

The Italians have the highest percentages of the aggregate of offenses of personal violence shown by the data. * * * The Chicago police records alone show a different condition; in them the Italian percentage is exceeded by the Lithuanians and Slovenians. Certain specific crimes of personal violence also belong distinctively to Italian criminality. Abduction and kidnapping * * * form a larger percentage of the crimes of Italians than of those of any other groups of offenders. In the Chicago figures the Italians rank second in percentage of these crimes, being slightly exceeded by Greeks.

Of blackmail and extortion the Italians also have the highest percentage in the four sets of data having a sufficient number of cases to make comparison possible. In all five sets of data the Italians have the highest percentage of homicide. Rape likewise forms a higher percentage of the crimes of Italians than those of any other nationality in the statistics of the New York City

magistrates' courts, the New York Court of General Sessions and the penal institutions of Massachusetts. * * * Of the aggregate of offenses against public policy, the Italian percentage exceeds all others in two sets of data. * * * Of violations of city ordinances shown in the records of the city magistrates' courts of Greater New York, the Italian percentage is greatest, while of the same offenses shown in the records of arrests by the Chicago police, the Italian percentage ranks third.

The report then described the tendency of the Italian of the second generation to break away from the criminal methods of the immigrant generation and to take up those of the American native-born criminals. Court figures showed that the Italian of the second generation committed many more gainful offenses than the Italian immigrant and fewer crimes of personal violence and offenses against public policy.

Recent reports of various State prison boards confirm the findings of that Government inquiry. The 1920 report of the California Prison Director shows that of 659 foreign-born convicts there were—of European immigrants—more than twice as many Italians as members of any other nationality. The 1920 report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Prisons shows that the largest number of prisoners in jails and houses of correction were Irish, but their offenses were mostly minor transgressions; of the 1,094 Irish prisoners 845 were sentenced for drunkenness. On the other hand, the 169 Italian prisoners were largely convicted of serious crimes, ranging from carrying weapons and assault to rape and manslaughter. In Newark, N. J., the record of arrests shows that of the foreign population Italians supply the greatest number of prisoners. The same is true in Rochester, New York, New Orleans and various other cities. Chicago is one of the few cities having considerable Italian populations where more of other European nationalities than Italians are arrested, although the offenses committed by Italians are usually more serious.

ACTIVITIES IN DETROIT

The earnest energy with which the police departments of American cities are trying to grapple with organized Italian criminality is shown by the attention given to the problem in the 1920 annual report of the Detroit Police Department. How thoroughly South Italians have transplanted their peculiar standards is shown by these extracts from the report:

Every once in a while an Italian or Sicilian is shot or stabbed, but seldom are the police able to learn who has committed the crime. The victim will tell his father, or his brother, or some other relative or friends who his assailants were, so that he can be avenged. But the police—never! That, according to his standard and belief, would not avenge him. And so the quarrels have been carried on among the families, each one gathering to itself all the available male strength, and the quarrel never ends until every male member of at least one side has been exterminated. Several have already been ended that way in Detroit.

But the killing of one another often becomes dull as a pastime. Then the members of the different clans are employed to kill the enemies of others, to bomb houses, kidnap children and hold them for ransom or to thieve. This is the way they earn their daily bread. * * * Yet the police, though they may know who has committed the crime, are seldom able to obtain a conviction in court. Witnesses afraid of the power of the "Black Hand" refuse to testify.

The Black Hand is an offshoot or extension of the Mafia. When in Milan last year, Captain Michael Fiaschetti of the New York City police force said that his mission was directly connected with a new campaign "for the extermination of that tremendous network of dangerous criminals who constitute the Black Hand gang and who come to us principally from the Sicilian provinces of Trapani, Girgenti and Palermo." Captain Fiaschetti further said:

It is a sad fact that some of these Black Hand daredevils are recruited from the professional classes. In a dramatic raid on a country inn in the suburbs of New York I had the good luck to find thirty famous Black Handers in conclave in underground vaults. Three of them were Italian medical men, specialists in the department of the Black Hand concerned with the fabrication of false dollars.

Shortly afterward two brothers were done to death in their own dwelling, their bodies being riddled through and through with revolver shots. Within a month I succeeded in capturing the four authors of the crime. They confessed that the murders were wrought with their own hands in the execution of a mandate from the Black Hand, or *La Mano Nera*, as they call it, because the victims had been judged guilty of having betrayed to me the subterranean meeting place of several chiefs of the organization.

While Captain Fiaschetti was in Naples he received a cable from Police Commissioner Enright of New York City warning him that two desperadoes were on their way to Italy and that it was believed their errand was to kill him.

ITALIAN "BOOTLEGGERS"

Since prohibition of liquor came into force in the United States, Italian criminals have turned to bootlegging as a quick means of illicitly acquiring wealth. One of their leaders was Albert Altieri. For years, from his quarters in New York City, he had directed the operations of a Camorra gang in New England who blackmailed and also ran chains of gambling houses and other unlawful resorts. They murdered other Italians venturing to encroach upon their self-assigned monopoly. According to the police, many of these murderers were

sheltered by Altieri and his aids, provided with funds and hurried to Italy. Altieri and his crew expanded their operations to include bootlegging.

Having accumulated a fortune of several hundred thousand dollars, Altieri retired from the criminal business. Later, however, members of his old gang in Providence, R. I., demanded his assistance in some trouble. He refused to give it, and an agent was sent to New York City to kill him as an ingrate and a renegade. Several attempts upon Altieri's life were fruitless, and Altieri was about to leave for Italy. At last, at noon on Feb. 10, 1921, Altieri was caught off guard at Mulberry and Grand Streets, New York City, and shot. Characteristically, he refused before dying to tell the police the name of his murderer. His body was embalmed and sent to Italy for burial.

The Italian record of criminality is a gory one. But this is not because all Italian immigrants are criminally disposed. Herded in cities, out of contact with American ways, they are preyed upon and dominated, as Villari says in his book on the Italian immigrant, by a horde of adventurers and camorristi, who maintain in the new country the factions, superstitions and methods of the old. There is an orderly Italian element which applauds every effort to exterminate these destructive influences.

THE ETYMOLOGY OF "JAPAN"

BOTH the name "Japan" and the sobriquet, "Land of the Rising Sun," come from the same source—two Chinese ideographs, "Yih-pen," or "Sun-origin." This name was given by the Chinese to their Mongolian neighbors across the Yellow Sea because of the geographical position of the Japanese archipelago on China's east. From "Yih-pen," the Japanese themselves, following the laws of their own phonetics, developed a native form, "Nihon." The familiar name Nippon is a corruption of this. The form Nihon was officially adopted by the Japanese in the year A. D. 670. Before

that time the name used was "Yamato," properly the name of one of the central provinces, an example of the well-known rhetorical principle of using a part as the designation of the whole. Japanese poetry and belles-lettres still prefer to use the name "Yamato" today. The English name, Japan, comes to us through the Portuguese, who spelled "Yih-pen" as "Japon," the "J" in Portuguese being silent or pronounced as aspirate "h." Spanish, Portuguese and French have all crystallized this form. The English form, Japan, represents only a slight modification.

THE PASSING OF TURKEY

BY ADAMANTIOS TH. POLYZOIDES

Editor of the Greek Daily, Atlantis

Narrative of the successful campaign of the Greek Armies against the Turkish Nationalist forces under Mustapha Kemal—Facts about the strength of each side and summary of the chief battles—Why the Turkish Empire is gone forever

WITH the triumphal advance of the Greek armies in Anatolia, with the fortresses and cities of Kutahia, Afioun-Karahissar, Eski-shehr and Ismid fallen in quick succession to the victors, and with Angora itself threatened, one may attempt to write the closing chapter of the passing of Turkey. The Ottoman Empire, which was created by the sword, is being ended by the sword, and the nation which is dealing the coup de grace to the once mighty horde of Osman is, as if by some strange decree of fate, the one on whose ruins five hundred years ago Turkish power was founded. It is not only, however, as a military force that Turkey is dying; bad as her military plight is, it is further complicated by the debacle of Turanian nationalism, for which there was no room in a twentieth century Europe.

The Young Turk revolution of 1908, the starting point of the Turkish collapse, was encouraged by all those who calculated that its success would bring about the overthrow of Teuton influence in the Ottoman Empire. That influence, beginning in the late '80s, had acquired a new impetus after the famous pilgrimage of Wilhelm II. to Constantinople and the Holy Land in 1897.

The Young Turk revolution was launched in the small Macedonian town of Resna, by two young officers, Enver and Niazi Beys, with whom, later on, such leaders as Shevket Pasha, Djemal Pasha and Talaat Bey were associated.

It was then thought that the object of the movement was to bring about the federalization of the empire in a way that would give equal rights and opportunities, as well as an equal share in the government of the country, to all the different native races of the Turkish Imperial State, and this fact alone explains the sincere and undisguised enthusiasm with which such racial elements as the Greeks, Armenians and Arabs, as well as the Albanians, Bulgars, Serbs, Syrians and Kurds, came together fully prepared to help in the reconstruction of their common country. For a time the United States of Turkey was the slogan of all those people.

Now, indeed, that plan, honestly and sincerely applied, would have saved the Ottoman Empire, and in all probability would have prevented the World War. But it soon became apparent that what Enver and his party were scheming for was not the liberalization of Turkey, but the complete Turkification of an empire four-fifths of which was non-Turkish. The Young Turks feared that by giving equal rights to all the former subject peoples of the Sultan they were running the risk of entirely changing the racial and national character of the empire, and, extremely nationalistic as they certainly were, no sooner had they established their regime than they raised the banner of "Turkey for the Turks alone."

To fight these tendencies the Balkan countries for the first time in their long history buried the hatchet

of racial differences and formed that famous coalition of 1912 which was to finish the Sultan's hold over nine-tenths of his European possessions, and over all the Greek Archipelago.

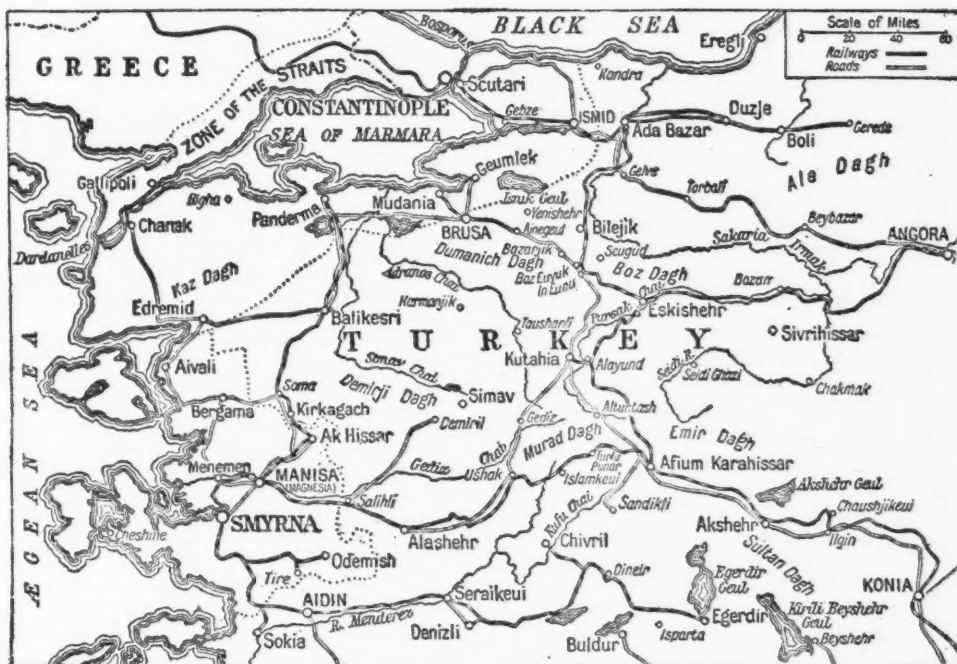
On the other hand, such events as the Austrian annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the definite amalgamation of Eastern Rumelia with Bulgaria, in 1908, and finally the Italian war in Tripoli in 1911, although not directly due to the nationalist character of the Young Turks, nevertheless indicated the desire of Austria, Bulgaria and Italy to take advantage of the weakness of Turkey before her new regime succeeded in strengthening the decrepit empire; the same psychology actuated, partly at least, the policy of the Balkan States when they decided to put an end to Turkey's hold on Near Eastern Europe before the Young Turks got a chance to galvanize into life the crumbling Ottoman State.

After her Balkan defeats, Turkey threw herself into the arms of Ger-

many. She did so, first, because Enver and his party believed that Turkish Nationalism was not compatible with the interests of the Western Powers, and, second, because an alliance with Russia was out of the question at that time, and the only alternative left was co-operation with the Central Empires of Europe.

The great war ended for Turkey in the last days of October, 1918, and with her defeat the first phase of her nationalist revival, initiated ten years earlier, was closed.

Enver Pasha was overthrown with his entire party, and the victorious Entente, occupying the whole Turkish Empire with the exception of portions of Asia Minor, and being master in Constantinople, forced the formation of a Turkish Ministry diametrically opposed to the ideas and the policies of the Young Turks. Thus the work of Enver Pasha was undone.



SCENE OF THE SUCCESSFUL CAMPAIGN OF THE GREEK ARMIES AGAINST THE TURKISH NATIONALISTS

SECOND NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

We come now to the second phase of the Young Turkish Nationalist movement, the utter debacle of which we are witnessing today. It may appear as a paradox, but it is nevertheless a fact that the second revival of Young Turk Nationalism was the indirect, but none the less actual, result of the mistaken allied policy pursued in Turkey immediately after the armistice. And this is how it all happened:

When the war ended with the coming of the allied fleet to Constantinople and the shattering of every Turkish front from Mesopotamia to Palestine and Thrace, an immeasurable fear seized the entire population that still remained under the more or less nominal control of the Sultan. The victorious alliance was still too strong and too compact to permit the Turks any indulgence in hopes they considered vain. The whole universe seemed to be crumbling on Turkey's head, and those who up to that time sat in the seats of the mighty were more dazed than the others by the sudden and unexpected turn of events.

At that time General Allenby in Asiatic Turkey and General Franchet d'Esperey in Thrace had under their command ten times as many troops as would have been needed to occupy and disarm the whole of Turkey. The state of mind of the population was such that an international gendarmerie could have put the whole country in order. It was then, however, that the old Turkish *deus ex machina* appeared in the shape of allied discord; because, no sooner was the Turk defeated than the various allied diplomats resumed their ante-bellum courtship for Turkish favors. French diplomacy began to suspect Britain, British policy began to distrust France, while Italy more openly than either came out in favor of the Turk.

Discussions of the different "mandates" were then going on in full pressure all over Europe and

America, and during those discussions each power interested in securing the mandate over some section of Turkey had its organization working overtime in the localities concerned, and in Constantinople. This condition was so propitious for the Turkish interests that an old and accomplished diplomat, the Grand Vizier Damad Shereef Pasha, was quick to understand all its portent and to act accordingly. Damad, who had been appointed to his position by the Entente, succeeded so skillfully in playing one allied diplomat against the other that he was enabled to create a double political and diplomatic Turkish front, the one loyalist in Constantinople, and the other revolutionary in Asia Minor, with the object of winning by one or the other way the diplomatic victory which alone could save Turkey from the consequences of her military defeat.

With this object in mind he dispatched, early in February, 1919, first to Samsun and then to Amasseia and finally to Angora, Brig. Gen. Mustapha Kemal Pasha, whom he placed at the head of the revolutionary movement of the Turkish Nationalists. Mustapha Kemal hails from Larissa, in Thessaly, and has studied in the Imperial Turkish Military School in Constantinople. Contrary to what is commonly said, he is not a graduate of the Berlin Kriegsakademie. He was formerly an officer of the Turkish General Staff, where he was known as an able but very eccentric militarist. During the war he was Divisional Commander in Gallipoli Peninsula, but he soon disagreed with his German chief, General Liman von Sanders, and with Vehib Pasha, after which he was sent to Syria. There, however, he became objectionable to General Djemal Pasha, who sent him to the chief of the Eastern armies, Izzet Pasha, with headquarters in Mosul. Shortly afterward he was recalled to Constantinople and accompanied the heir apparent to the Turkish throne—now Sultan Mehmet VI.—to

Berlin. On their return from Germany he remained in Constantinople until he was sent to Asia Minor to organize the Nationalist movement.

CREATING THE KEMALIST ARMY.

The Turkish Army being demobilized soon after the armistice, Kemal was from the first confronted with the difficulty of raising a new body of troops. Nevertheless, he succeeded in rallying to him a number of officers, and through them he incorporated various irregular bands into a more solid organization. These bands were made up of all sorts of adventurers and the riffraff of the Turkish prisons, who had been released during the war by Talaat Pasha with the special mission of exterminating the Armenian and Greek populations of the Pontus and the interior of Anatolia. Kemal appointed the local leaders as Military Governors of the provinces in which their bands were operating, and to each he attached a prominent Young Turk civilian as counselor and personal representative of the supreme chief, which meant himself. In order to give an idea of the elements that Kemal used in the formation of his army, it is enough to say that an ex-boatman of Kerassund was appointed Governor of the Pontus and was instrumental in annihilating two-thirds of the entire Greek and Armenian population of that province. The original Kemalist organizations contained twenty to fifty men each, but when the prospects of loot increased their strength was soon trebled and quadrupled.

In the course of his organizing activities Kemal Pasha made use of his bands for the forcible conscription of the Turkish peasantry, the collection of all kinds of taxes from the population, and the service of his commissariat. Finally Kemal completed his organization with numerous Lazian pirates, who proved their worth by smuggling in arms and ammunition to Samsun from Batum and Constantinople.

EXTENT OF KEMALIST STATE

In the whole territory subject to Kemal's control the genuine Turkish population has never amounted to more than 1,500,000, scattered over a wide territory with primitive communications. On the other hand, during the ten years of almost continuous war and conscription, that part of the population which was capable of bearing arms was reduced by half, so that, considering the circumstances, Kemal could not expect to raise more than 50,000 or 75,000 men if everything went well. According to the best information obtainable, the forces of Kemal from the central and northern part of Anatolia last April reached the figure of 60,000 men.

The Turkish Nationalist leader, however, had another source of strength in the vast number of former officers of the imperial army whom the armistice had released in idleness and left starving in the streets of Constantinople and other cities of the empire. It is calculated that the Ottoman army employed over 25,000 officers, a considerable proportion of whom were not Turks, but men drawn from the Albanian, Khurdish, Arabian and other elements of the country that do not sympathize particularly with Nationalist Turkey. It is safe to say that at least 5,000 officers of the former army joined the forces of Kemal as the only open way to a decent livelihood. To these forces must be added the men that the southern provinces of Anatolia contributed to the Nationalist movement after it was well under way. These may be estimated at between 30,000 and 40,000 men. Finally comes the assistance given more or less openly by the Constantinople Government and the territory under the Sultan's jurisdiction. This is an unknown factor, but on the whole it is safe to assume that when Kemal took the field early in the Spring he had between 180,000 and 200,000

troops for use against the Greek armies.

In order to equip this army Mustapha Kemal had to depend on the following supplies: First, he had at his disposal the military stores of the Turkish eastern armies, chiefly located in Sou-Shehri, about a hundred miles inland from Kerassund. This was the base of the Turkish Third Army, which, after the armistice, ought to have been turned over to the Allies, but which remained in the hands of the Kemalists. In addition there were other smaller depots in Angora and Sivas, and these also fell to the Kemalists. It must be added that at the time of the demobilization of the army the soldiers and officers as a rule took with them their rifles and revolvers, with all the ammunition they could carry, while a large amount of war material was freely distributed to the peasantry to be used "should the need arise."

The Russians in their retreat from Trebizond had abandoned no less than two hundred pieces of heavy artillery, with two large dumps of ammunition. General Denikin made an attempt to get this material, but the Turks got wind of the plan and blew up one dump, keeping the other. The Kemalists also found a good deal of artillery in Kars and Batum, although in both cases the Armenians and the Georgians had appropriated the best pieces for their own armies. Finally the Kemalists got their best artillery from Erzerum, because the Russian retreat there was so precipitate that the newest and largest guns were abandoned. These weapons, together with those smuggled from Constantinople, Bulgaria, Russia and certain countries of western Europe, helped arm the Kemalists troops.

Mustapha Kemal solved his financial problem partly by levying all the taxes and surtaxes previously paid to the Constantinople Government, and mostly by getting hold of all money that came in sight. The Greek and Armenian element, the backbone of the economic strength of the empire,

was stripped of its last penny, while remittances from Constantinople and Moscow and from other more opulent sympathizers of the Kemalists movement soon filled the coffers of the organization. To send troops to the assistance of Kemal was not an easy task, but monetary help was more convenient to get to him from all parts of Islam, and especially from the neighboring States.

KEMAL TAKES THE FIELD

From March, 1919, to March, 1921, Mustapha Kemal continued his preparations, entirely undisturbed by what was going on among European statesmen and the diplomats. His main idea seems to have been that success depended rather on the moral effect that his organization would have on the Entente than on an actual victory on the battlefield. He made no serious attempt to engage the Greek Army in Asia Minor during the two years following the occupation of Smyrna, because he had not the necessary forces for such an undertaking, and because he was convinced that European diplomacy could succeed in driving the Greeks out of Smyrna much better than force of arms. All the information that the Nationalist leader was getting from Paris and Rome, by way of Constantinople, was in sympathy with this view.

What Kemal aimed at was the revision of the Treaty of Sevres, and this was almost accomplished when his own representatives were accepted by the allied Governments to discuss in London the details of the Near Eastern settlement, during that memorable conference of last March, when Premier Briand of France came out openly in favor of their claims; Italy had been clamoring for the revision of the Turkish treaty ever since the day of its first inception in San Remo, a year before. Greece unanimously rejected the proposal to modify the Turkish treaty, and shortly afterward she launched her

first offensive against Eskishehr. The story of that operation is briefly as follows:

The offensive started March 23, 1921, the Greek troops of the southern group advancing toward Afioun-Karahissar, which was their objective, while the northern group advanced toward Eskishehr. Incidentally the two groups were to destroy the Turkish railroad leading from Afioun-Karahissar to Konia, and also the line that connected Eskishehr with Angora. Both groups reached their objectives, but the connecting group of Kutahia, forming the centre of the Greek advance, failed to march in connection with the others, and thus the whole operation was frustrated, the Greeks falling back on their bases of Oushak and Brusa. The Greek Army lost almost four thousand men in killed and wounded, while the Turkish losses must have been equal if not more. The railroad remained in the hands of Mustapha Kemal, as well as the moral advantage of that battle, which Turkish diplomacy endeavored to use by every means.

It has remained for a distinguished French military critic, General De Lacroix, writing in *Le Temps* of Paris, to appreciate fully the Greek military effort of that first offensive. Says the General:

For the attack on Eskishehr the Greeks assembled the equivalent of four divisions between Brusa and Ismid, while two others operated from Oushak against Afioun-Karahissar in the direction of Angora. Following the ill-success of the Greek attack against the Turkish positions of Eskishehr, the northern group returned to its starting point in the neighborhood of Brusa, followed, but not pursued, by the victorious Turkish corps, which were exhausted by the preceding struggles. At the moment of this retreat the southern Greek group, more successful than the northern, had passed beyond Afioun-Karahissar, and was too much exposed. The Turkish troops, taking advantage of this situation, left the neighborhood of Eskishehr, and by way of Kutahia attacked Guediz, northwest of Oushak. This attack the Turks made with a cavalry division, whose orders were to advance up to the railroad and cut the communication of the Greek column with Smyrna. The stub-

born resistance of the Thirty-second Greek Regiment on the heights of Mourad Dag (7,000 feet high) enabled General Contoulis to bring back his forces of the southern group very quickly and to frustrate a movement that presented a real danger. The chief of the Thirty-second Regiment had a very clear notion of the general situation, and he must be commended for this comprehension of the solidarity and the necessity of liaison. The two divisions of General Contoulis, notwithstanding their forced marches in a difficult country, not only came in time to extricate the Thirty-second Regiment, but even launched a counter-attack. A violent battle took place, lasting three days. The Turkish divisions, probably on account of their shortage of ammunition, withdrew toward Kutahia, after recalling in that region their cavalry division, which they had abandoned right in the centre of the Greek communications. This prolonged action, carried by the Greek side with great vigor and great manoeuvring ability, called attention to the ground between Kutahia-Guediz, Tulou-Bounar and Afioun-Karahissar, which dominates all the country west of the Bagdad Railway.

SECOND GREEK OFFENSIVE.

From King Constantine down, every Greek felt that it was his duty to help wipe off the memory of this first Eskishehr failure. In vain did the Entente address to Athens a solemn note offering mediation with Turkey. Greece arose with a single mind and a single resolve. Constantine soon went to Smyrna, and the flower of the Greek Army, the veterans of the Balkan wars, the classes of 1912 (which had served almost ten years under the colors) and 1913 and 1914 were recalled for the supreme effort, and the second great offensive was launched exactly three months and seventeen days after the retreat of April.

At the time of the first offensive Greece had an army of 150,000 men in the field. Three classes were added in May, bringing the effectives to 198,000 men. At the same time eleven classes were mobilized in Thrace, giving an additional force of 20,000 men. Smyrna alone gave 10,000 volunteers, and other volunteers to the number of 5,000 helped swell the total to 233,000 troops. With the calling of three more additional

classes, the grand total of the Greek Army reached close to 300,000 troops, while another hundred thousand were left in the reserve, subject to service on the first notice.

The Greek General Staff has refrained from giving a detailed statement as to the disposition of the Greek Army at the time of the launching of the second offensive; but the Turkish newspaper *Ikdam* of Constantinople, claiming to have its information from the Turkish General Staff, gave the following list, which seems to have been substantiated by events:

On the northern, or Brusa, front, the Greeks had their Second, Seventh, and Tenth Divisions with one cavalry brigade. On the southern front, known as that of Oushak, the Greek forces comprised the Third, Fourth, Fifth, First, Ninth, and Thirteenth Divisions, with one cavalry brigade. The Eleventh Division was somewhere in the neighborhood of Ismid and the Twelfth in Thrace.

The Greek offensive was launched this time from Brusa in the north and Oushak in the south, on June 10, and advanced in three directions, namely, toward Kutahia, Afioun-Karahissar and Eskishehr. In addition to these forces carrying a frontal attack against the Turkish positions, a new column descended from the western slopes of Mount Olympus of Bithynia (not to be confused with the Olympus of Thessaly) and attacked the Turkish positions in Adranos, successively occupying the towns Beidjikioi, Harmanjik, and Yenikioi, which is nearly twenty miles to the east of Kutahia. At the same time the column coming from Oushak advanced successfully to Guediz, which was occupied on the third day of the offensive, and which put Kutahia between two fires.

The battle of Kutahia was the first great encounter. The Greeks surrounded the Turks from three directions, and the Turks desperately fought to escape to Eskishehr. The encircling movement was carried on by five Greek divisions, starting from

Oushak, and assisted by the troops coming down from the north. The whole attack was made with such speed that, when the Turks became aware of the magnitude of the danger threatening them, they fiercely counter-attacked the right wing of the central group of the Greek Army with the entire strength of four divisions; these the Greeks repulsed and put to rout after a most sanguinary battle before Kutahia.

The success of the Greek strategy consisted in the fact that, instead of attacking the almost impregnable positions of the Turks frontally, they outflanked them and attacked from the rear, thus rendering useless the splendidly organized position. Nevertheless, the Turks, having still at their disposal the railway to Eskishehr, succeeded in extricating themselves from Kutahia and in saving a large part of their material, thanks to a great concentration of rolling stock and engines in that city, which proved very useful to them in their hasty retreat. The battle of Kutahia lasted all day the 16th of July, and continued throughout the night up to the dawn of the 17th, when the last Turkish forces withdrew under the constant fire of the victors. Kutahia was occupied at 3 P. M. on that day.

The task now confronting the Greek troops was to pursue the beaten enemy toward Eskishehr; this was done very systematically, the Hellenic forces fighting their way on both sides of the railway and fighting continuously against six retreating enemy divisions, namely, the Third (Caucasian), Fourth, Seventh, Eighth, Twenty-third and Fifty-seventh. At the same time the northern group of the Greek armies, coming down from Brusa, was in continuous action, the greatest encounter being at Biledjik, where the Greeks routed a Turkish force of 5,000 men and captured a large number of prisoners, together with the regimental flag of a crack cavalry corps. The two Greek groups met on either side of Eskishehr on July 21, when the Turkish command, apprehensive of

the situation, counter-attacked with a total force of fourteen divisions and two cavalry brigades; this Turkish attack was of a most fierce character, seven divisions being launched against the Greek centre. It was then that Greek artillery came into play, magnificently assisting the large forces of infantry attacking the Turks from all sides. The Greeks soon afterward took the initiative, and literally stormed their way into the Turkish position. The two Greek groups joined, and General Polymenakos, commanding the northern group, entered Eskishehr on the evening of July 21, occupying the city in the name of King Constantine.

The Turkish debacle in Eskishehr eclipsed the defeat before Kutahia, and the Greeks stopped the pursuit of the fleeing enemy only after they had pushed him fully thirty miles to the east of that city.

Having consolidated their positions in Eskishehr and established their communications from Ismid clear down to Afioun-Karahissar, the Greeks resumed their march toward Angora on Aug. 14, taking in succession the historic towns of Sivri-Hissar, the ancient Claudianoupolis and Gordium, famous for its knot, cut by Alexander's sword. Finally, on the 25th, the Greek forces established contact with the Kemalist army on the banks of the River Sangarios, forming the last barrier before Angora, and a great battle began, which is still undecided as these lines are written.

WINNING DESPITE HANDICAPS

During this triumphal progress of their armies the Greek people at home were in a delirium of enthusiasm. Their emotion was deepened by the fact that ever since the 14th of last November, when for reasons of their own they overthrew a regime for which they had no sympathy, they had found themselves abused and boycotted in a way seldom equaled in the annals of recent European history. Why should other countries take so much to heart the Greek vote on a

Greek issue? Yet the allied Governments refused to recognize King Constantine when he was recalled by 98 per cent. of his people, and, for reasons still unexplained, even the Government of the United States joined in a policy so contrary to American ideals of popular government. In the second place, an economic boycott was declared against Greece, whose national loans could no more be floated in Europe or America. Finally the Greek people were abandoned in their struggle against the Turks, with every political and diplomatic influence in Europe working overtime for Mustapha Kemal.

In the face of such universal opposition, Greece took the field against Mustapha Kemal; she mobilized her 300,000 troops; she borrowed money from the National Bank of Greece; she appealed to the Hellenic nation for support, and thus the Greek soldier, abandoned by all, crossed himself, as he does before the charge, and with God's help dashed forth and won the greatest triumph in his history. The pride and self-reliance of a nation were never more fully vindicated. The Greek people at that moment knew they had sealed the fate of the Ottoman Empire; they knew that they were the masters of the Near East.

WHAT TURKEY HAS LOST

The old Ottoman Empire has fallen definitively; out of the twenty-odd millions of population subject to the Sultan in 1914, less than seven millions remain under Mustapha Kemal. The others are irretrievably lost, as follows: Arabia, with 3,500,000 population, is independent; Syria, with 2,000,000, is under France; Palestine, with 600,000, is under Britain, along with Mesopotamia with its 1,000,000 people. Kurdistan, with 500,000, is in open revolt against Kemal; Armenia, with 300,000—the remnants of a people massacred wholesale—is definitely separated from the Turkish State; the vilayet of Smyrna, with 2,000,000, and that of Constantinople, with another 2,000,000, are under

Greek and allied control. The killed and wounded, and those disabled during the Turkish participation in the European war, with those who left the country after the armistice, amount to more than 2,000,000 people. Kemal represents barely 7,000,000 people, and if he meets final disaster at Angora he will represent even fewer. [For later details of the month's fighting, see "Turkey" in Table of Contents.]

Turkey has lost her prestige forever, and there is no power on earth that can restore it; both as an autocratic State and as a nationalistic experiment Turkey has been a ghastly failure, because she lacks vitality and will never adapt herself to the ideals of democracy and civilization. A Turkish State in Anatolia may live and prosper in peace. No one wants to exterminate the Turkish people,

but no one will tolerate the reconstitution of the Ottoman Empire, now that its destruction is an accomplished fact.

The Greek people are today the only guarantors of law and order in what was the Ottoman Empire. More than that, they are the only ones who can revive that whole country nationally, politically, commercially, financially and socially. They are the ones who always held the keys of business, shipping and industry in the Ottoman Empire. They are the only elements in the Balkans and in the Near East who have absorbed American ideals of democracy and business efficiency. Half a million Americanized Greeks from the United States are ready to help re-establish the old Byzantine homestead; and with these Greeks risking their all to see Greece succeed in Constantinople, America should join in the enterprise.

SPAIN'S NATIONAL HERO REINTERRED

AN impressive ceremony took place in Spain on July 21, 1921, when the remains of the Cid Campeador, supreme protagonist of innumerable Spanish epics, only a few of which, notably the Poema del Cid, have survived the erosion of time, were removed from the Town Hall of Burgos to the transept in Burgos Cathedral. From 1070, when the great champion died after a noted victory over the Moors at Valencia, until 1809, when they were transferred by the French invaders to Burgos, the bones of the Cid had lain in the Convent San Pedro de Cardena. There they had been transferred to other parts of the convent, but not removed. The ceremony of July 21 was planned to reinter them in Burgos Cathedral amid scenes of deep national homage. A nineteenth century Spanish writer had said that it was time to bury the Cid and forget him. But Spain cannot forget the Cid, who bids fair to be immortal. "Long live the dead Cid!" said Cardinal

Benilech, the present Archbishop of Burgos, in his inspiring address on this occasion.

After 822 years, the remains of the great hero, together with those of his wife, Doña Jimena, whom Corneille immortalized as Chimene in his tragedy of "Le Cid," were removed from the Town Hall and carried in solemn procession to the great medieval cathedral. King Alfonso XIII. walked behind the coffin, and in the presence of the King and Queen and a brilliant throng of high officials and spectators it was lowered into the transept floor, while the great guns of Burgos thundered a last greeting of farewell. The epitaph on the coffin, in Latin, was composed by Spain's greatest modern scholar, Professor Ramon Menéndez Pidal. In thus honoring the Cid, King Alfonso has shown once more how fundamental is his Spanish national feeling. The Cid, with his deeds of prowess, his great soul and his fanatic chivalry, lives in the very heart of modern Spain.

FACTS ABOUT NAVAL DISARMAMENT

BY GRASER SCHORNSTHEIMER

A helpful analysis of the comparative sea forces of the nations that are to take part in the Washington conference—How each stands in actual fighting efficiency—Difficulty of finding a common unit of power for limitation purposes

WHAT is popularly called the "disarmament conference" is in reality to be an international conference for the reduction of naval armaments. Its scope is limited almost entirely to dealing with the sea forces of the represented powers. This was made quite clear by President Harding's note to the Imperial Japanese Government in answer to the question as to its limits. Before one can understand, therefore, what is to be accomplished at Washington in November, one must know the cards each nation has to play. The fleets of England, Japan, France and Italy and the United States will come under consideration.

In the last seven years the range of naval power has been so expanded as to require almost a complete revision of types. The battleship of today is three times as powerful as was the dreadnought of 1914. All the other types have progressed in the same manner, and entirely new forces have made themselves felt. Thus, when the war started, the British possessed a naval aviation force of only a few unarmed planes; today it consists of hundreds of armed planes, with some airships, and is supported by great aircraft carriers and large coastal establishments. In 1914 the submarine was in its infancy; today it has reached the height of its power and seems to be holding to a rather set standard.

In order to understand what each nation has in ships, a new set of definite rules has been brought forward, serving for classification. All battleships and battle cruisers are of dreadnought types; that is, their main batteries consist of at least six large guns of a single calibre. The battleship of former days, with its mixed battery of 12-inch and smaller guns, has disappeared from the lists as entirely obsolete, and the same may be said of the armored cruiser type. To a great extent the light cruiser of other days has been retained for supplementary purposes in almost every navy. True, its lack of speed and other modern features makes it impossible for line of battle purposes, but even today it remains a fairly fast ship for gunboat and auxiliary uses.

The capital ships carrying 12-inch guns are rated as third-class; those carrying less than 15-inch, but greater than 12-inch guns, are rated as second-class, and those carrying 15-inch guns or greater, as first-class. The division between the battleship and the battle cruiser is quite apparent in their respective speeds. A speed of twenty-six knots or more is necessary to obtain any real manoeuvring advantage over the modern battleship; and this excess speed can be gained only at the sacrifice of some other element, such as gun power, armor, cruising radius or some other factor. And so it is to be seen that

the battle cruiser is inferior to the battleship in the same class.

In cruisers the dividing lines are far more indistinct. The first-class cruiser may be considered one of over 8,000 tons displacement, having a speed of thirty knots or better; the second-class cruiser, a vessel of more than 3,800 tons displacement, having a speed of thirty knots or better, and the third-class cruiser, a vessel having a speed of less than thirty knots, but more than twenty-five knots on a displacement of 6,000 tons or less.

The war saw the building of about a thousand or more destroyers of types which were great improvements on the pre-war ones, rendering obsolete almost all coming before them. A third-class destroyer may be considered as one of better than 600 tons displacement, having a speed of twenty-seven knots or better. A second-class destroyer must have a displacement of from 800 to 1,100 tons, with a speed of thirty knots or better. The first-class destroyer must be of more than 1,100 tons displacement, having a speed of thirty-three knots or better.

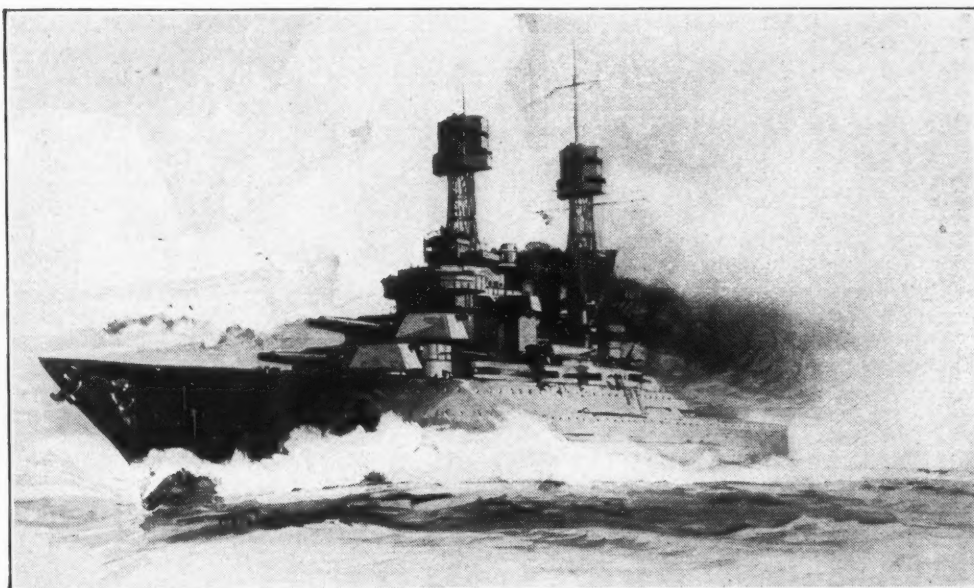
Submarines are almost impossible to classify. They range from the small 200-ton boat to the new 2,500-ton mastodons; from the gasoline-driven boat to the steam-driven British "K" class, and back to the Diesel-driven type. In surface speed they range from twelve to twenty-five knots, and in armament from the machine to the 12-inch gun on the surface, and submerged from the 14-inch to the 23.6-inch torpedo tubes. Only the most modern boats can be considered efficient, and, as stated above, some of them have proved to be entirely unreliable.

Of course, as it has been through the centuries, the battleship is the backbone of a nation's sea defense; and the reduction of this most expensive force to its lowest degree will be attempted at the conference. Britain has ten first-class battleships in the five Queen Elizabeths and the five Royal Sovereigns. They carry a

main battery of eight 15-inch guns, but their displacements are small in comparison with the ships now building. The Queen Elizabeths, however, are the world's fastest battleships, with their speed of twenty-five knots. Neither France nor Italy possesses a first-class battleship, though Japan has two very fine vessels complete and others building. On the other hand, the United States has but one first-class battleship complete—the Maryland—and another 75 per cent. complete; the other eight, which are supposed to be building, are put down as "date of completion indefinite" in the latest report of the Bureau of Construction and Repair. The Colorado, the battleship mentioned as 75 per cent. complete, is also on this list, so it is to be seen that actually we will possess but one first-class battleship at the time of the conference.

Japan has just completed the battleships Negato and Mutsu. They are the world's most powerful warships. True, their main batteries consist of eight 16-inch guns, as does the main battery of our Maryland, but the Japanese guns fire a heavier shell than do ours, and the ships upon which they are mounted are larger, faster and probably better protected. And so it is evident that the Japanese advantage is greater than just two to one.

From an American viewpoint, the battle cruiser question hardly exists. There is not a single battle cruiser in our navy today, and the six vessels we are supposed to be building have been marked as "completion indefinite" by the Bureau of Construction and Repair. Japan has four huge battle cruisers at sea today, which are the most powerful ships of their type in the world, next to the single British Hood. Also, Japan has four battle cruisers building which will be nearly twice as powerful as the Hood when complete, and at least 25 per cent. more powerful than our battle cruisers, if ours are ever completed. In addition to these last ships Japan intends to lay down four further bat-



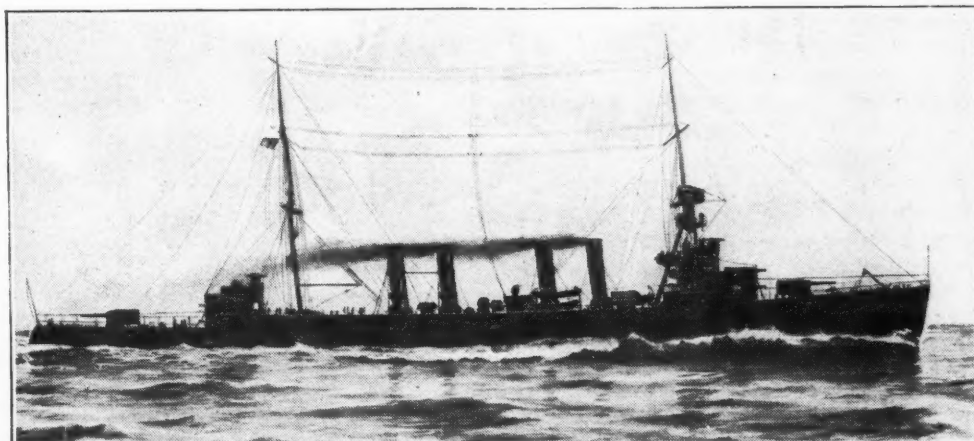
(From a Westinghouse Photograph)

United States superdreadnought Washington, launched Sept. 1, 1921; a sister ship of the Maryland and Colorado, and one of the mightiest sea fighters in the world. It is 624 feet long, electrically propelled, displaces 33,000 tons, and will have a speed of 21 knots

the cruisers as soon as the slips are available.

The British battle cruiser forces are led by the Hood, with its main battery of eight 15-inch guns, and followed by the Renown and the Repulse, each carrying six 15-inch guns. These ships are followed by three second-class battle cruisers, carrying eight 13.5-inch guns. Also, there are a few other old third-class

battle cruisers carrying eight 12-inch guns, which can scarcely be regarded as effective in these days of high speeds, extreme protection and great gun power. From this statement of things it is evident that the battle cruiser power of the world lies between England and Japan, and that Japan has entirely the best of the situation according to the latest figures.



United States scout cruiser Cincinnati—not yet completed—from an official naval drawing. The Omaha will be of the same size and design

America's main strength lies in her 14-inch-gun, second-class battleships. She has eleven vessels of this type. The California, the last of our 14-inch-gun ships, will hardly be complete before the conference is assembled. Japan possesses four 14-inch-gun dreadnoughts carrying twelve guns, like our California. Two further Japanese first-class battleships will be afloat by the time the conference is assembled. They are the Kaga and the Tosa, and with their ten 16-inch guns will be the most powerful warships the world has ever known. These ships, coupled with the Negato and Mutsu, will be a match for the whole ten of England's first-class battleships, as their protection is the last word and their guns are far more powerful than the British.

France possesses three second-class battleships carrying ten 13.4-inch guns, and England has twelve ships of the type carrying ten 13.5-inch guns. Italy has no second-class battleships.

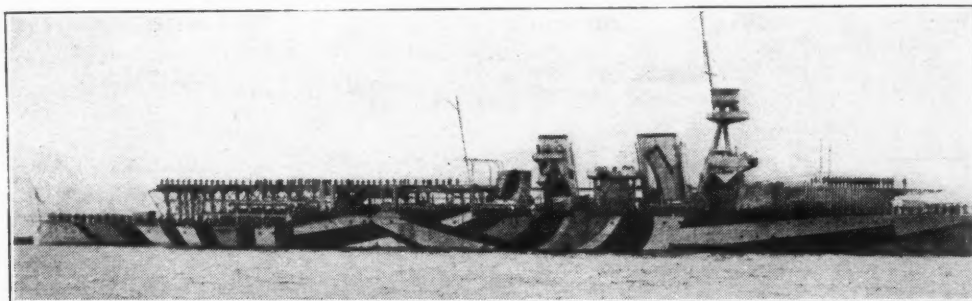
What shall I say of the third-class battleship power of the nations? The 12-inch-gun battleships are out-weighted and outranged in battery power by the newer vessels. They are but poorly protected, in almost every case they are slower, and always are they the oldest ships. The British consider them to be almost entirely useless and so are scrapping them for economy's sake. As they are almost useless, would it not be possible for the conference to scrap the lot without bothering with too much detail? It would save trouble at the conference, and probably some misunderstandings. The cost of keeping these ships up is very great, and every nation would save by cutting away this accumulated deadwood exactly as England is doing without any disarmament conference. In this Japan would lose the least, as she possesses only one third-class battleship, and that one vessel, the Settsu, is of extremely doubtful value, even for a third-class ship. England and

the United States would each lose six ships, Italy five and France four.

The old-time battleship of the pre-dreadnought type could be entirely done away with. England has already scrapped her lot, and France is following her lead. In America, we are using some for test purposes. The Indiana was bombarded by aircraft a short time ago, and the Alabama was about to follow when these pages went to press. The Massachusetts was quickly sunk by the fire of our coastal fortifications recently, and the Oregon has been given to the State after which she was named, and will be used as a naval museum. The Iowa has been disarmed and converted for radio control tests, and the Kearsarge is being converted to a crane ship. The Ohio has been fitted as a wireless controlling ship and other vessels of the Maine and Illinois classes are soon to meet their fate.

Japan, on the other hand, keeps all her old battleships and cruisers in full commission. Only lately has she retired a few of the oldest of them from active service. Among them was the Iwami, formerly the Russian Orel, captured after the battle of the Sea of Japan and a fine specimen of obsolescence. However, the Japanese are keeping other vessels, almost equally useless, in full commission, and it is certain that this is not done to spend money when all the world is attempting to cut expenses. Not a single pre-dreadnought is maintained in full commission in the United States Navy.

America today is undoubtedly the third naval power, England and Japan ranking first and second respectively. While it is entirely true that we have tremendous power in the eleven second-class battleships mentioned before, we are and we will be lacking in first-class battleships, in all classes of battle cruisers and other cruisers, as well as in the new types brought about by the war. Japan is rapidly building first-class battle power, and England will begin to do so shortly, while the United



British aircraft carrier Vindictive, as seen in camouflage dress during the war. The British navy now has six of these vessels for use as airplane bases at sea, while we have none

States, because of the reduction in naval appropriations, will continue to see the ships which would give her power relegated to the realm of "indefinites" and non-entities. Under the 1916 naval program we were to build ten fine, fast cruisers, of which only one is listed for completion at present. England has about seventy such vessels, and Japan will shortly have about thirty, and, it is said, will increase this number by a dozen or fifteen in the future.

England has six aircraft carriers in commission today. Japan has one, the Hosho, almost complete. America has not a single vessel of that type in her fleet, nor is she building any, Congress having refused the appropriations. Some critics may wish to contradict this by saying that we have two vessels under construction. We have two "vessels" under construction, but not aircraft carriers. True, they will carry planes, but they will not be available in a fleet action, because of their extremely low speed of fifteen knots. All the British and Japanese vessels mentioned have

speeds of from twenty-one to thirty-one knots, and so will be available in any action. Warships must be built to fight, and these so-called aircraft carriers of ours would never be able to fight or cruise with the fleet. The highest naval officers admit that these ships will be useful only for experimental work—yet they are all we have.

Another type, which is most conspicuous in our navy by its absence, is the destroyer flotilla leader. It was found during the war that destroyer flotillas must be led by a large destroyer, capable of forcing her way through a line of enemy destroyers. England, Japan, Italy and France have built and are building vessels of this type, but America neither has built nor is building a single one. Next to England, America possesses the greatest number of destroyers. Our destroyer service would be one of the best in the world, if not entirely the best, if it had flotilla leaders, but without them it must rank with Japan and France.

It is common knowledge that our



Official United States Navy silhouette of the Lexington class of six battle cruisers, which cannot now be completed on account of lack of appropriations

submarines are not of the best, that we haven't a single real fleet submarine in our service, and that new boats embodying the war's experience have not been provided for.

These are the cards the nations have to lay upon the conference table. America goes to conference as the third naval power, entirely lacking in the most important types of ships. The fault cannot be laid at the door of the Navy Department, for the General Board has asked for ships of proper types ever since the end of the war, only to have them refused almost point blank. Instead of being the first naval power, as the average American seems to believe, America is quite a bit behind other nations to be represented, both in actual and in future power.

Each nation will certainly demand that a unit of power be decided upon before agreeing to reduce its fleet. This will be an extremely difficult figure to arrive at. Never before has there been any attempt to establish a ratio of power. Should each nation individually arrive at a figure for its own fleet, again will there be trouble, because all the nations have different reasons and different problems to consider when building a warship of any type. Therefore, the warships of

each nation are entirely different from those of its neighbors, both in conception and in construction.

In addition to these questions, tactics and strategy will play important parts. Bases will count. Every naval advantage, geographical or otherwise, will count. As the Japanese have pointed out, if the diplomats are allowed to cloud the situation still further there is not a hope for success. Complete disarmament, of course, is not thought of by any nation; but it would seem that an entirely reasonable reduction of armaments in lesser ships could be and should be reached. Also, it may be possible to provide against future expenditures on the part of every nation. A great deal depends upon the presence of the right spirit at the conference.

The Washington conference was brought about not by moral reasons entirely, but by business reasons—armaments are costing too much, and this cost must be and can be reduced. And that will be the aim of the conference—to cut down the naval expenditures of each nation. Sea forces will continue to be necessary, but they must be maintained without competition and at the least possible expense if the world is to derive any real benefit from the conference.

"ROCK OF AGES, CLEFT FOR ME"

NO other hymn in Christendom, perhaps, has stirred the souls of believers with such power of emotion as the famous "Rock of Ages." Wherever the English language is spoken—in England, Canada, the United States, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa—this great hymn is sung in childhood and old age, and its deep, organ-like harmonies linger on in the hearts of many whose church attendance has become a negligible quantity. Thousands of those who have sung it have given little thought to the man in whose brain the deeply stirring words, so simple, yet invested with such a universal religious appeal, first originated. On Aug. 1, 1921, an event occurred which served as a reminder. On that date thousands of English churchmen

and Non-conformists joined in a holy pilgrimage to Burrington Combe, Somersetshire. Here, before a towering cliff, fissured by a deep cleft in its centre, they stood, gazing upward, and sang fervently Toplady's "Rock of Ages." In the minds of all was the event which led Augustus Montague Toplady, an Anglican divine, Wesleyan and Calvinist, whose life fell between the years 1740-1778, to conceive this great religious song. While wandering in the open, Toplady was caught in a storm. He reached the cliff of Burrington Combe, saw the deep cleft, and took shelter there. Standing here in its protection, the first lines of the hymn came to him:

Rock of Ages, cleft for me,
Let me hide myself in Thee.

THE TRUTH ABOUT OUR AIRPLANE RECORD

BY H. M. HICKAM

Major in the United States Air Service

An authoritative account of our achievements and failures in aircraft production during the war—Revelation of the obstacles encountered and of how most of them were overcome—Inside story of actual accomplishment

IT is doubtful if any phase of our part in the war has been more before the public than our "air program." Extravagant claims, bitter denunciations, investigations and reports of accomplishment, coming in rapid succession, have created a great confusion in the mind of the public and a general desire to know just what happened to the \$640,000,000 and subsequent sums that Congress appropriated without question.

When the United States entered the war the "supremacy of the air" had become of vital importance. France and England were in desperate need of aircraft of all kinds and of personnel for their operation and maintenance. Their confidence in our ability to meet their requirements was great and apparently well founded, and they lost little time in making known what was required of us. *Our air program was dictated by the necessity of our allies, and that necessity was fully impressed upon us.*

Before the war ended there were many programs, each dictated by changing conditions, but the only one which is generally known and the one upon which our production is judged is the program of June 1, 1917, upon which the appropriation of \$640,000,000 was based. On May 24, 1917, the French Government requested that we co-operate to form a corps equipped with 4,500 airplanes with the neces-

sary personnel for operation and maintenance. As a result of this request, and realizing its importance, the Joint Army and Navy Technical Aircraft Board met on May 25, 1917, and reported to the Secretaries of War and Navy a program for carrying it into effect. The members present were:

Major B. D. Foulois, U. S. A.
Lieutenant J. W. Towers, U. S. N.
Captain V. E. Clark, U. S. A.
Asst. Naval Constructor J. C. Hunsaker, U. S. N.
Captain E. S. Gorrell, U. S. A.

This report estimated that to meet the needs of the United States Army alone, until July 1, 1918, the following numbers of training planes would be required, and it recommended that a building program to meet these needs be started at once:

Type of Airplane	Number Required	Type of Engine	Number Required
JN-4	3,500	OX-5	7,000
DH-4	1,750	R-R or equivalent	3,500
SE-5	600	H-S	1,200
Spad	600	H-S	1,200
Sopwith	600	Clerget 130	1,200
JN-4 (Stop gas order)	0	Hall	1,000
R-4	200	Scott A7a	400
R-6	350	V-2-3	700
Farmair Seaplanes	175	H-S	350

The same report also recommended that the Aircraft Production Board of the Council of National Defense take steps immediately toward obtaining from Europe—as working models—two each of the following airplanes (including engines), with

the right to manufacture them in this country:

DH-4	Marcinsyde
SE-5	Sopwith 1½ Strutter
Spad	Handley-Page
Sopwith	Caproni
BE-20 Farman	Savoia
Farman Seaplane	

For the navy—in order to equip the coast stations and to train 330 pilots—the Joint Board estimated that the following would be needed, not including service airplanes:

300 School seaplanes with 100 H. P. engines.
 200 Service seaplanes with 150-250 engines.
 100 Speed scouts with 100-150 engines.
 100 Large seaplanes with 200-400 engines.

To meet the request of France for co-operation in a flying corps of 4,500 airplanes—to be available for active service at the front during the Spring of 1918—the further needs of the United States Army were stated thus:

SERVICE AIRPLANES AND ENGINES
 (LATEST TYPES)

(To be produced between Jan. 1, 1918, and June 30, 1918)

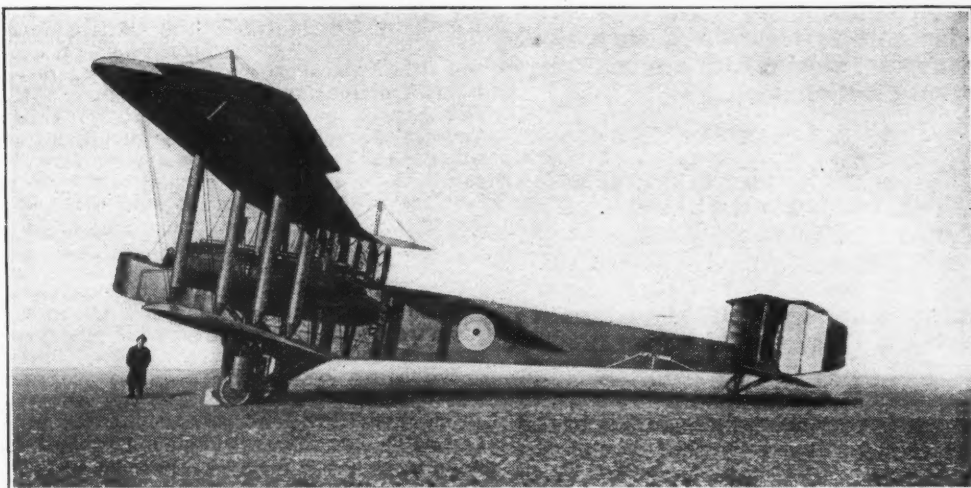
Types.	Airplanes.		Engines.	
	Fighting	Engines.	Fighting	Engines.
	Line.	Reserve.	Line.	Reserve.
Reconnaissance and artillery control.	3,000	1,000	6,000	2,000
Fighting	5,000	1,667	10,000	3,334
Bombing	1,000	333	2,000	666
Total	9,000	3,000	18,000	6,000
Grand total ...		12,000		24,000

The recommendation of the Joint Army and Navy Technical Aircraft Board covering this service plane program was approved by the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy about the same time as the recommendation covering training planes. The entire program then called for 8,075 training planes, 12,400 service planes, of which 300 of the training planes and 400 of the combat planes were for the navy, making the production as outlined for the army 20,475 planes in twelve months. The engine production estimate accompanying this plane program called for 41,810 engines in the year, with a maximum production of 6,150 per month.

Estimates were prepared after consultation with the French and British, and the total estimated cost for the program was \$640,000,000. In the light of recent statements of the cost of the war that sum is not so impressive as it was when its appropriation was announced in headlines of every paper in the country. No such sum had ever been appropriated for any one purpose in the history of Congress, and it is small wonder that an admiring public pictured a sky darkened by airplanes. Congress had certainly done its duty. That sum was necessary, and it was appropriated without question and with no delay. The money was available, and it remained but to turn it into airplanes and to train the personnel for their operation.

ESTIMATE OF OUR SITUATION

On May 12, 1917, the Signal Corps had on order 334 airplanes of thirty-two designs placed with sixteen firms or persons, *not more than six of which had ever manufactured more than ten planes*. There were not more than forty officers and civilians who were capable of instructing in primary flying, and none of them had ever seen a modern fighting or service type airplane. No firm had ever produced anything but an elementary training plane, and there were not more than ten men capable of designing them. The situation with respect to engines was little better, although several farsighted automobile manufacturers had experimented with aeronautical engines with some success. Most of the instruments and accessories of aircraft had never been heard of, and it was necessary to create a new order of instrument manufacturers capable of producing in great quantity, barometers, compasses, tachometers, speed indicators, angles of incidence indicators, thermometers, synchronizing mechanism, bombing sights, bomb release mechanisms, electrical gun and clothing heaters, automatic long range cameras, special radio ap-



One hundred of these Handley-Page airplanes were produced in the United States and shipped to England for assembly before the signing of the armistice

paratus and other super-sensitive instruments, the skill to make which did not exist in this country.

The program had been approved, the money appropriated, and the crying necessity for its accomplishment was only too apparent. The best of those whose previous experience seemed to fit them for the gigantic task were assembled and the fulfillment of our promises intrusted to them. These were men accustomed to success. No proposition had ever been too big for them, and they were determined to succeed. After a careful survey of the situation they were convinced that the program, huge as

it was, was not impossible of accomplishment, and in their enthusiasm and determination they announced that they would carry it through. That announcement was transmitted through the press to every citizen of the country in such glowing terms that it can never be forgotten.

There is a popular impression that our air program was a failure, and that the money so generously and trustingly appropriated was squandered without adequate return. It is certain that if our accomplishment be measured by what we in our enthusiasm and ignorance announced we were going to do, then we failed, in-



Martin Bomber, ready for quantity production in the Fall of 1918. This plane was used by Colonel Hartz in his "Round-the-Rim" flight of 10,000 miles. It was also the bombing plane that sank the Ostfriesland in the recent naval tests

deed; but if it be measured by the accomplishment of other countries under similar conditions, then even the most critical can find much cause for satisfaction.

AS IT LOOKED IN 1917

The possible aircraft production facilities of the United States, as they appeared to thoughtful men at that time, were set forth on June 13, 1917, in a long letter written by Howard Coffin, Chairman of the Aircraft Board, to Brig. Gen. Kuhn, Chief of the War College Division. Though this letter is too long to print here in full, any one who will consult it in the War Office files will find it very illuminating. It shows that the early statements of what we could do were no vainglorious boasts, but were the result of a very careful analysis of the situation, based on all available information. Mr. Coffin outlined, item by item, how we apparently could and should go about the building of 5,000 training machines, 2,500 DH-4s for reconnaissance, 800 of each of three types of pursuit planes, and 12,000 fighting, bombing, artillery control and reconnaissance machines. He specified the airplane and automobile factories to which each type was to be assigned, and gave a complete list of thirty or forty others that could be enlisted in the work. The following passages show just how the situation looked and what was planned:

We will concentrate on the reconnaissance and artillery control types, relieving French factories of the heavy production of these types. This will permit them to concentrate on fighting types utilizing the rotary engines. In the meantime, the rotary engine production will be materially increased in this country. With the U. S. 8 A and U. S. 12 A in quantity production before Jan. 1, and the Lorraine-Dietrich by March 1, 1918, we can meet the increased reconnaissance and artillery control program. With designs from Europe on or before Aug. 1, it will be possible to have planes in November from Curtiss and in December and January from sources of supply established to make training machines, but switched over to these as training orders are transferred to other new sources of supply. The output of these planes will temporarily exceed that of engines.

It is estimated that production of these types will have to reach and hold 1,800 per month by March, 1918. The Curtiss Company has estimated they can reach an output of 30 per day, or 750 per month, of pursuit or fighting machines by Jan. 1, 1918. We expect to have at least two other sources of supply equal in size and capacity to the Curtiss Company and to mobilize the productive capacities for wood working of some centres like Grand Rapids, Amesburg, Philadelphia and Camden, Cincinnati, Syracuse, Kansas City and St. Louis. * * *

The automobile industry is producing 100,000 engines per month, while the maximum required by the airplane engine program is 6,000 per month.

We firmly believe the airplane program can be met. We believe that the Aircraft Production Board can arrange for the production during the next twelve months of an engine for every plane and at least a spare engine for every five planes. The deficit in spare engines for training machines will be made up during the Spring and the deficit in engines for combat machines will be made up during the Summer of 1918.

The problem of increasing the production of French and English factories has been suggested, but there are so many questions involved in the transportation of all kinds of material, men, food, clothing, &c., that it seems best to defer an opinion on this point until our board has made an investigation of the subject abroad.

The program as submitted to the Aircraft Production Board is a gigantic one, but capable of accomplishment as outlined, provided funds are quickly appropriated and no delays permitted.

CAUSES OF PARTIAL FAILURE

Why did fulfillment in some respects fall so far short of these expectations? The reason is that, careful as was the Aircraft Board's estimate, it was based in part on premises which afterward proved to be false. Chief among these were (1) the idea that engine production was harder to build up than plane production; (2) that the quantities of raw material needed were comparatively small and would not conflict with demands in other lines, and (3) that the manufacture of airplanes presented no special difficulties which existing factories could not easily meet. The rapidity with which planes and engines were becoming obsolete on the front also was not known, nor was it realized that difficulty would be experi-

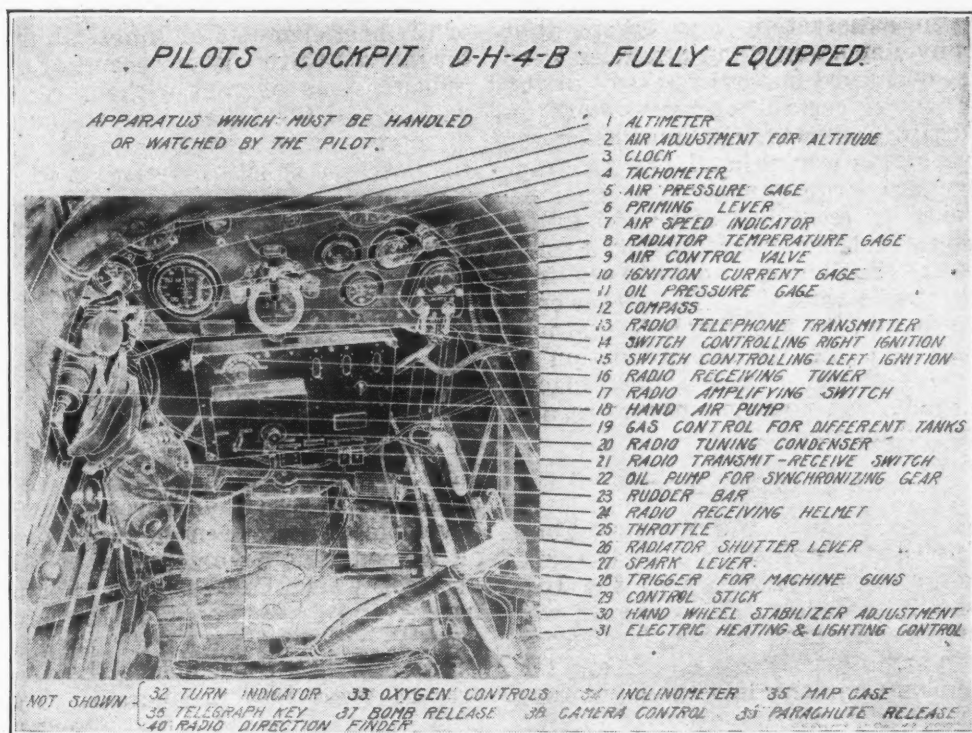


Diagram showing the pilot's cockpit of the De Havilland-4 and the enormous amount of apparatus that must be watched while flying

enced in getting the Allies to furnish sample planes and drawings for purposes of reproduction in this country.

The comprehensive inexperience of the United States in the manufacture of aircraft when we entered the war undoubtedly accounts for our overconfidence and for the heartbreaking delay in getting under way. The source of knowledge was 3,000 miles away, and development there was so rapid that it became necessary to go to the scene of actual conflict to gain our knowledge of what to produce. Perhaps it was fortunate that the difficulties which were soon to appear were not anticipated. Our advent into the war was at a time when the development of special types of aircraft for specific purposes was at its height. Planes which were considered adequate one month were inadequate the next, and the combatants were striving to outdo each other in design as well as quantity production.

Foreign aeronautical engines are mostly hand-made; all our engines are machine made. It is readily seen that all the advantage in changing design lies with the hand-made engine. If we were to go into quantity production it was necessary to select engines that would not become obsolete before they could be produced. The same thing applied in a lesser degree to plane manufacture. Our lack of aeronautical engineers with the necessary experience made it necessary to make "Chinese copies" of both planes and engines. Great care must be exercised, therefore, in the selection of what we were to duplicate. Early in the war the Bolling Commission was sent abroad to confer on the ground with our allies and to select and ship back the planes and engines that were to serve as patterns. This could not be done in a day. In the meantime we could not sit idle.

In the Curtiss JN-4 we had an ele-

mentary training plane which had given satisfaction, and except that many important shop practices were not of record but existed only in the minds of certain operatives of the Curtiss Company, the knowledge for production was at hand. Our program required large quantities of training planes at once, but after the initial supply had been produced only a small part of the industry would be required to replace wastage. The experience gained and the industry built up could then be turned to the production of service planes. Orders were placed with eleven different contractors, and production started.

THE LIBERTY MOTOR

Early in 1916 the Simplex Company had obtained the design and rights for manufacture of the Hispano-Suiza motor. This engine was further advanced in standardization than any other foreign motor, and the Simplex Company had the advantage of the assistance of a group of foreign experts. It was not until Feb. 6, 1917, thirteen months later, that the first motor turned over under its own power, notwithstanding the company had every inducement for rapid delivery. The General Vehicle Company had had a similar experience in the manufacture of the Gnome 110 H. P. Here were two significant examples of the time required to put standardized foreign engines into production. Both these engines were considered to be of the best when they were selected for production, but both were inadequate for anything but training before they could be got into quantity production.

With these examples before us it was evident that we could design and build an engine suitable to American manufacturing methods long before we could receive and duplicate any foreign engine. The idea of the Liberty motor was the result. Much criticism of the Liberty has been indulged in, but the wisdom of producing it is now so apparent as to make any comment unnecessary.

The Liberty motor is a combination of the best elements of American motor manufacture. Every secret of the industry was offered without reservation, and the Liberty, as its name indicates, is an enduring tribute to the patriotic spirit of American manufacturers. That everything that was offered could not be used detracts in no way from the splendid spirit that was shown.

As the development of types progressed, engines with increasing horse power were demanded. In May, 1917, our foreign advisers agreed that we should concentrate on an engine of about 225 horse power, and the Liberty-8 was designed to meet this demand. In less than three months development had been so rapid that all agreed that a horsepower of 330 at least would be required. Fortunately, the development of the Liberty-12 had kept pace with that of the 8, and as a consequence the Liberty-12 went into production. The first type developed the required power, but before quantity production had well begun this was considered inadequate, and a redesigning of parts and many improvements resulted in an increase of over 100 horse power. The Liberty-12 today develops 440 horse power, and the end is not yet in sight.

Experience has shown that at least six months' service on the front is necessary to "get the bugs out of any new engine," but the foresight of our air service in the A. E. F. in preparing for the examination and test of the first engine to reach the zone of the advance, and the promptness with which suggestions for improvement were cabled home, shortened the expected time by months. These necessary and anticipated criticisms were given undue publicity, which resulted in much loss of faith on the part of those inexperienced in gas engine development.

The difficulties encountered in going into quantity production were of a very serious nature. Existing motor building plants did not have machin-

ery of sufficient size to handle the parts of a motor as large as the Liberty, and it was necessary to build and design tools for the purpose. Some 300 jigs, tools and fixtures are required to produce the necessary parts, and these had to be duplicated many times for quantity production. Thousands of men and women had to be trained and educated before they could be intrusted with the manufacture of parts which required a degree of skill they did not possess, and many of these were requisitioned for other necessary governmental activities as soon as they were trained.

Modern warfare demands the co-ordination of every phase of human activity, and all activities must be speeded up to the limit, notwithstanding the fact that many of the best and most efficient producers must be withdrawn for service with combatant troops. The draft, therefore, took many machinists and mechanics at a time when their services were vitally important, and fuel, transportation and materials had to be shared with those engaged in other phases of our military program.

FIRST DELIVERIES OF ENGINES

Production, however, started with the delivery, during December, 1917, of 22 engines of 330 horse power. After about 300 of these engines were in production the horse power was stepped up to 375. This required a strengthening of many parts and a change in many tools. Information from abroad indicated that if an engine of 300 horse power could be produced, the United States would lead the world in size and power of engines for 1918-19.

After changes which necessitated a redesign of many jigs, tools, &c., and metallurgical changes in some of the parts which required the development of new and better methods of making steel, the Liberty went into final production with the enormous horse power of 440. So rapidly were these changes made that by May 29, 1918, one year after the date design was be-

gun, 1,243 Liberty engines had been produced and delivered for service. Six months later the rate of production had reached the sum of 46,500 per year, and was increasing by leaps and bounds. On Oct. 30, 1918, our production rate of Liberty engines alone was far greater than England's rate of production for *all* her aeronautical engines.

Up to Nov. 29, 1918, a total of 15,572 Liberty engines had been produced, but that by no means represents the accomplishment in motor production, for the production of engines for primary and advanced training was over 16,800. In the month of October, 1918, America produced 3,878 Liberty 12s, 753 Hispano-Suizas, 309 Le Rhones, 357 other program types (OX-5, Lawrence, Gnome and Bugatti) and 32 experimental engines, a total of 5,329. The rate of production was increasing daily, and by Nov. 1, after eighteen months of war, we had reached a rate of 64,000 engines per year. A comparison with English and French production reports is illuminating. From the best available data, it is as follows:

	ENGINES PRODUCED			
	France.	Italy.	England.	U. S.
1914.....	1,065	....	99	11
1915.....	7,089	600	1,721	20
1916.....	16,785	2,400	5,363	134
1917.....	23,092	6,300	11,536	2,431
1918.....	44,563	15,000	22,102	34,241
1919.....	....	....	....	5,486
Total.....	92,594	24,300	40,821	42,323

During the years 1914-16, inclusive, the combined engine production of the Allies was only 35,122, yet they did not hesitate to demand that we produce 6,000 more than that number in one year, nor did we hesitate to promise to do so. During 1918 we actually did produce 34,241, and had we maintained the October production rate after the signing of the armistice we would have exceeded the demand made upon us. This is hardly a record of failure.

"FIGHTING PLANES"

Probably the most bitter criticism of our air program is that "not one American-made fighting plane ever

reached the front." It is small wonder that disappointment should be centred on this point. We entered the war to fight, and no small part of our effort was to be in the air. It is a fact that no American-made pursuit planes did reach the front. Acting on the advice of our allies, and finally realizing our inability to design and produce a pursuit plane capable of holding its own, we decided to leave the production of pursuit planes to the French until American engineers could master the new and intricate problems of design and production. In the meantime, we were to produce, for training purposes, American copies of the best models available anywhere.

The wisdom of this decision may be questioned by some, now that all the facts are available for study, but it is doubtful if even the most ardent critic would have decided otherwise had he been placed in the position of those who had to determine the policy.

No one except those who were actually engaged in the attempt to determine what to produce can ever realize the lack of definite information upon which to base a decision. Our source of information was 3,000 miles away, and the means of communication a cable choked with other essential business. During the six months from June to December, 1917, plans were made on information that afterward proved to be inadequate, necessitating change after change.

Signal Corps records show that from 1908 to 1916 the total number of planes delivered to the army was 54, while in 1916, due to requirements of the punitive expedition into Mexico, 366 had been ordered, of which only 64 were ever delivered. These were of the most elementary type. With this record of achievement of a starved and struggling industry, we were called upon to embark on a program calling for over 20,000 planes in a year. Of these, less than 25 per cent. were of a type then known to our industry. Of the remainder, we were without practical knowledge,

drawings or designs. *In fact, we never at any time received a complete model or set of drawings.* "Millions may be appropriated in a day, but money cannot turn back the hands of the clock and permit the gaining of the experience and ability which make aeronautical engineers competent to undertake the vitally important problems which confronted us." (Letter of Colonel Waldron to Dr. Walcott.)

It was obvious that our only hope was to select the best of each type and to produce that until something better had been developed abroad or in the United States. Development, particularly in "fighting planes" or pursuit planes, was very rapid. Even those who had all the front-line experience available could not look far enough ahead to determine future requirements. Planes representing the latest and best thought were often obsolescent before they reached the front. Confusion has resulted from the fact that planes such as the Spad, Nieuport, Sopwith and others retained their original name no matter how many changes or improvements were made in them. Critics demanded to know why we didn't select the Spad and turn it out in large quantities. It takes even a highly organized and well-trained industrial concern a long time to reproduce a perfect model, and longer to get into quantity production on it. Certainly we had no such concern available. The plane produced under conditions existing in 1917 would have been obsolete long before it left the United States.

USING FRANCE'S EXPERIENCE

The decision, therefore, was to furnish the French with raw materials and to have our pursuit aviation equipped with the latest and best plane that French engineers of long experience could produce with a highly trained, experienced and well-equipped industry behind them; an industry, by the way, that could not have continued in production without our raw materials. In no other way

could our fighting pilots have the latest and best equipment during the year 1918.

A pursuit plane is very complicated in design. It must operate at sea level or at an altitude of over 20,000 feet; it must be fast and must climb rapidly, characteristics which are opposed to each other in design. A very delicate compromise is required to give the necessary performance. It must be very manoeuvrable, have good visibility and be well armed. Even today, development continues very rapidly with no end in sight. No American engineer had ever seen one, to say nothing of having designed one. Yet there is still criticism because we turned over the production, in those early days of uncertainty and inexperience, of such planes to experts who unfortunately were French rather than American, but who, nevertheless, were allies fighting and working side by side with our pilots in a common cause.

We actually did bend every effort toward the design of an American-built pursuit plane, with the result that the first design of the MB-3, now recognized as one of the best in the world, was turned out and tested early in 1919. There were others just as promising in sight, but, while there was American ability in plenty, there was no time.

There are two general classes of planes required—elementary training planes, in which pilots are taught flying, and service planes, in which they operate over the front lines. There are, again, two general classes of service planes—air force, i. e., pursuit, bombardment and attack, which apply force from the air, and air service planes, which serve the different elements of the army by reconnaissance, liaison, spotting artillery fire, &c. The duty of the first class is to fight; the second class fights only for self-protection, to enable its mission to be carried out in spite of attack.

The Bolling commission reported that the British DH-9, which was just emerging from the experimental

stage, had reached a degree of development which would enable it to give excellent service, no matter how long the war might last. This was an air service or observation plane, which could also be used as a light day bomber. If we could produce this in large quantities, we could turn out equipment that would always be useful, even though a better plane might be developed. Here was something we could go ahead on with confidence, if we could get a model or a set of production drawings. This was, however, impossible at the time, so the determination was made to go into production on the DH-4, which was then in use by the British in the front and continued in use, by the way, until the end of the war.

SUCCESS WITH OBSERVATION PLANES

On Aug. 15 the first DH-4 arrived at Dayton. It was without engine, ordnance and many accessories for its use. A set of incomplete drawings accompanied it. The fuselage design had to be changed many times in order to accommodate the Liberty-12 and the instruments and accessories necessary for its operation. On Oct. 29 the first DH with a Liberty motor was flown successfully, and during the next four months the infinite complications of installing the equipment demanded were solved and production started with the delivery of fifteen machines in April, 1918. By October the rate of production had reached 1,097 a month. In the meantime, many changes and improvements had been made as the result of criticism and recommendations from the A. E. F.

On Nov. 11, 1918, 196 DH-4s were actually in use at the front, 667 had been received at the front, 293 were at A. E. F. training schools out of a total of 1,440 planes actually received in France, and 1,040 more were en route. A total of 4,846 had been produced. With the exception of 100 Handley-Pages shipped to England for assembly, this represents our total

production of planes for service on the front.

Our program for the production of service planes called for 12,000 of three general classes. This really meant about 18,000, for about 50 per cent. spare parts were considered necessary for maintenance. This item may represent in a small way our ignorance and inexperience in May, 1917. These planes were to be produced between Jan. 1 and June 30 if we were to fulfill our promises. Had we been informed of the maximum rate of production that France and England, with their years of experience under pressure, had been able to attain, the absurdity of such a program would have been evident. The following table, taken from published reports, gives the plane production of the Allies:

	AIRPLANES PRODUCED			
	France.	Italy.	England.	U. S.
1914.....	541	....	245	11
1915.....	4,469	400	1,932	20
1916.....	7,549	1,300	6,149	83
1917.....	14,915	4,000	14,421	1,807
1918.....	23,669	6,500	32,106	11,916
1919.....	....	....	....	409
Total.....	51,143	12,200	54,855	14,246

During the years of 1914-16 the combined production of the Allies was only 22,585, yet we were expected to produce as much in one year, and that with practically no previous experience. During the year 1918 we actually did produce 11,916 planes—more than the entire production of either France or England up to the time we declared war.

While our production was getting under way, training and service machines were needed by the air service in the A. E. F., and it was recognized that for many months it would be impossible to meet this requirement with planes manufactured in the United States. Accordingly, orders were placed with French factories for 5,875 planes of French design, with delivery promised by July 1, 1918, and promises were made to the French industry for the delivery of great quantities of raw material. Neither the United States nor the French Government was able to fulfill its promises. How-

ever, 22,500 tons of raw materials and fabricated parts were furnished the French, and 4,791 planes were delivered to the air forces of the A. E. F. before Nov. 11, 1918.

There have been many statements to the effect that American aviators flew planes of obsolete type turned over by the French, but records of delivery show that we fared even better than the French themselves. It requires about a year before a plane which is accepted as an improvement replaces equipment on the front, and there have been many cases of planes becoming obsolescent before they ever reached quantity production. These planes were used on inactive sectors and for training, and it was only just that we take our share of such equipment. After July 1, 1918, we received nothing but planes of the most approved type.

FURNISHING RAW MATERIALS

Our accomplishments in production, however, can by no means be measured by the number of planes produced. We had to furnish all the spruce, and later much of the fabric and dope, as well as wire and steel fittings, for France, England and Italy. A preliminary survey disclosed an appalling shortage of spruce, linen, castor oil and acetate. The failure of any one of these essential raw materials could cause the collapse, not only of our own program, but of that of the Allies as well. In meeting such problems we were in our element; given a reasonable amount of time, they could all be solved, but time was the essential we lacked. *Already we were attempting to crowd the development of ten years into as many months, and any delay would be fatal.* Judged by peace-time production costs, many of the expenditures made may seem excessive, but the value of time can be measured only by the pressure of necessity, and certainly our necessity justified the expenditure of any sum required to produce results in time.

Acetone is necessary for the manufacture of cordite, an explosive upon

which the British were absolutely dependent. Our aircraft program called for 25,000 tons. Estimates showed that the total available supply would not even meet other demands. One of the essential products was totally lacking. The entire supply of acetate of lime, as well as that of other refined ingredients, was commandeered; 170,000 tons were required, and only 106,000 were available. The requirements of all the Allies were pooled, and the best chemists in the country were secured to master the intricate technical requirements of production. Many previously unconsidered sources of supply had to be discovered, and after large chemical plants had been developed by governmental support, the demand was met, and 1,324,356 gallons of dope were manufactured from original sources which proved to be more than adequate for all requirements.

As early as the Spring of 1917 a serious shortage of airplane spruce had developed, and in order to secure spruce fast enough to meet our own and allied production needs, the Spruce Production Corporation was organized in the Pacific Northwest. New and hitherto inaccessible sources were opened up in order that the flow of aircraft lumber might not stop with the exhaustion of the accessible supply. The problem of procuring spruce for aircraft presented new problems to our lumber interests and too much credit cannot be given for the manner in which they were solved. Education in new methods of logging, sawing, drying and utilization of spruce was necessary, and the knowledge gained in the solution of the many and varied problems will be of lasting benefit. As a result of improved methods the requirement per machine fell from 5,000 feet to 1,000, with a consequent reduction of expense in all departments. Over 180,000,000 feet of aircraft lumber was shipped, of which 120,000,000 went to our allies and 60,000,000 to our own industry.

With the collapse of the Russian

Government, one of the two great sources of linen was lost, and by December, 1917, it was realized that the air program of the Allies as well as our own would depend upon the development of a suitable substitute. England's reputation as the greatest cotton-manufacturing centre of the world is well established, but the cotton fabric used as a substitute for linen was developed in the United States by our own experts to meet the needs of our own program. The physical characteristics of our cotton fabric equal those of the best linen, and it was produced at just half the cost. Had not American genius produced a substitute superior to the original, after years of England's best effort had been unsuccessful, our program would have been brought to a full stop before it had well begun. In August, 1918, our production rate was 1,200,000 yards per month, and every yard meant a saving of 65 cents.

IMPORTANT DISCOVERIES

The castor oil situation was very similar to that of linen and acetone. Before Liberty Aero Oil was developed, castor oil was the only satisfactory lubricant for high speed motors and the quantity required for our program was enormous. The Government's country-wide round-up of castor oil robbed every small boy in the United States, but had not the Lubrication Division succeeded in developing a satisfactory mineral oil for the Liberty and other stationary engines, the supply would have been utterly inadequate.

Wherever our industry could obtain adequate knowledge of what was required, there is no record of failure. Had it been possible to make the American people acquainted with the true condition in 1917, and had they been kept informed of difficulties as they appeared and of the steps taken to overcome them, the feeling in regard to our aircraft production would be one of pride rather than of disappointment.

OUR PEACE TREATY WITH GERMANY

THE United States at last is at peace with Germany. After many parleys in Berlin between Ellis Loring Dresel, the American High Commissioner, and Dr. Friedrich Rosen, the German Foreign Minister, the treaty draft was finally agreed upon. It was signed in the German Foreign Office in the late afternoon of Aug. 25, 1921. Thereby the technical state of war, which had remained ever since the armistice, was declared at an end; the United States Government received confirmation of all its rights as one of the victorious powers, under the Versailles Treaty, at the same time repudiating all obligation under a number of sections of that treaty, especially the one comprising the Covenant of the League of Nations; the new treaty also established the consent of Germany to the *fait accompli* respecting our seizure of German ships and other property during the war.

The actual signing was attended by no pomp or ceremony. Mr. Dresel, accompanied by Chancellor of the Embassy Hugh Wilson, First Secretary Pennoyer, and Attache Norris, all dressed informally, went from the embassy to the Foreign Office, where they met Dr. Rosen, Privy Councilors Gruenewald and Kraus and Consul Gruno. Brief formal greetings were exchanged, but no speeches were made. The German Government wished as little ceremony as possible, and was desirous to avoid everything reminiscent of the Versailles Treaty. Mr. Dresel signed first at Dr. Rosen's desk, and the German Foreign Minister signed after him.

The treaty is a brief and businesslike document. Article 1 gives the United States all the rights specified in the Knox-Porter resolution, especially the right of the United

States to all German property interned after the United States declared war on Germany, and including all rights previously given this country by the Treaty of Versailles. The second clause of Article 2 repudiates adherence by the United States to all clauses of the Versailles pact which refer to the League of Nations.

Under the fourth clause of Article 2, the United States reserves its privilege to be represented in the Reparation Commission or in any other commissions established under the Versailles Treaty, but only at its own election and when it considers such participation expedient.

TEXT OF THE TREATY

The full text of the peace treaty between the United States and Germany is as follows:

Considering that the United States, acting in conjunction with its co-belligerents, entered into an armistice with Germany on Nov. 11, 1918, in order that a treaty of peace might be concluded:

Considering that the Treaty of Versailles was signed on June 28, 1919, and came into force according to the terms of its Article 440, but has not been ratified by the United States:

Considering that the Congress of the United States passed a joint resolution, approved by the President July 2, 1921, which reads in part as follows:

"Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the state of war declared to exist between the Imperial German Government and the United States of America by the joint resolution of Congress approved April 6, 1917, is hereby declared at an end.

"Sec. 2. That in making this declaration, and as a part of it, there are expressly reserved to the United States of America, and its nationals, any and all rights, privileges, indemnities, reparations, or advantages, together with the right to enforce the same, to which it or they have become entitled under the terms of the armistice signed Nov. 11, 1918, or any extensions or modifications thereof; or which were acquired by, or are in the possession of the United States of America, by reason of its par-

ticipation in the war, or to which its nationals have thereby become rightfully entitled; or which, under the Treaty of Versailles, have been stipulated for its or their benefit; or to which it is entitled as one of the principal allied and associated powers; or to which it is entitled by virtue of any act or acts of Congress; or otherwise. * * *

"Sec. 5. All property of the Imperial German Government, or its successor or successors, and of all German nationals which was, on April 6, 1917, in, or has since that date come into the possession or under control of, or has been the subject of a demand by the United States of America or of any of its officers, agents, or employees, from any source or by any agency whatsoever, and all property of the Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government, or its successor or successors, and of all Austro-Hungarian nationals which was on Dec. 7, 1917, in, or has since that date come into the possession or under control of, or has been the subject of a demand by the United States of America or any of its officers, agents or employees, from any source or by any agency whatsoever, shall be retained by the United States of America, and no disposition thereof made, except as shall have been heretofore or specifically hereafter shall be provided by law, until such time as the Imperial German Government and the Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government, or their successor or successors, shall have respectively made suitable provision for the satisfaction of all claims

against said Governments, respectively, of all persons, wheresoever domiciled, who owe permanent allegiance to the United States of America and who have suffered, through the acts of the Imperial German Government, or its agents, or the Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government, or its agents, since July 31, 1914, loss, damage, or injury to their persons or property, directly or indirectly, whether through the ownership of shares of stock in German, Austro-Hungarian, American, or other corporations, or in consequence of hostilities or of any operations of war, or otherwise; and also shall have granted to persons owing permanent allegiance to the United States of America most-favored-nation treatment, whether the same be national or otherwise, in all matters affecting residence, business, profession, trade, navigation, commerce and industrial property rights; and until the Imperial German Government and the Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government, or their successor or successors, shall have respectively confirmed to the United States of America all fines, forfeitures, penalties and seizures imposed or made by the United States of America during the war, whether in respect to the property of the Imperial German Government or German nationals, or the Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government or Austro-Hungarian nationals, and shall have waived any and all pecuniary claims against the United States of America."

The United States and Germany, being desirous of restoring the friendly relations existing between the two nations prior to the outbreak of war, have for that purpose appointed their plenipotentiaries—the President of the United States of America, Ellis Loring Dresel, Commissioner of the United States of America to Germany; and the President of the German Empire, Dr. Friedrich Rosen, Minister for Foreign Affairs—who, having communicated their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE 1.—Germany undertakes to accord to the United States, and the United States shall have and enjoy, all the rights, privileges, indemnities, reparations or advantages specified in the aforesaid joint resolution of the Congress of the United States of July 2, 1921, including all the rights and advantages stipulated for the benefit of the United States in the Treaty of Versailles, which the United States shall fully enjoy, notwithstanding the fact that such treaty has not been ratified by the United States.

ARTICLE 2.—With a view to defining more particularly the obligations of Germany under the foregoing article with respect to certain provisions in the Treaty of Versailles, it is understood and agreed between the high contracting parties:

1. That the rights and advantages stipulated in that treaty for the benefit of the United States, which it is intended the United States shall have and enjoy, are those defined in Section 1 of Part IV. and Parts V., VI., VIII., IX., X., XI., XII., XIV. and XV. The United States, in availing itself of the rights and advantages stipulated in the provisions of that treaty men-



(Photo International)

ELLIS LORING DRESEL

United States Commissioner to Germany, who negotiated the American-German Peace Treaty

tioned in this paragraph, will do so in a manner consistent with the rights accorded to Germany under such provisions.

2. That the United States shall not be bound by the provisions of Part I. of that treaty, nor by any provisions of that treaty, including those mentioned in Paragraph 1 of this article, which relate to the Covenant of the League of Nations, nor shall the United States be bound by any action taken by the League of Nations, or by the Council or by the Assembly thereof, unless the United States shall expressly give its assent to such action.

3. That the United States assumes no obligations under, or with respect to, the provisions of Part II., Part III., Sections 2-8 inclusive of Part IV., and Part XIII. of that treaty.

4. That, while the United States is privileged to participate in the Reparation Commission, according to the terms of Part VIII. of that treaty, and in any other commission established under the treaty or under any agreement supplemental thereto, the United States is not bound to participate in any such commission unless it shall elect to do so.

5. That the periods of time to which reference is made in Article 440 of the Treaty of Versailles shall run, with respect to any act or election on the part of the United States, from the date of the coming into force of the present treaty.

ARTICLE 3—The present treaty shall be ratified in accordance with the constitutional forms of the high contracting parties, and shall take effect immediately on the exchange of ratifications, which shall take place as soon as possible at Berlin.

In witness whereof, the respective plenipotentiaries have signed this treaty and have hereunto affixed their seals. Done in duplicate in Berlin, this 25th day of August, 1921.

This treaty, on the whole, was received with satisfaction by the German press. President Ebert gave official expression to the German Nation's satisfaction over the treaty in a statement issued on Aug. 26. The American President expressed confidence that the ratification would follow in both countries without any obstacle. The United States Senate, owing to the Congressional recess, could not take it up until Sept. 21. The German Reichstag, to which the treaty must also be submitted, would not meet until Sept. 20.

Although the allied powers made no protest to the way in which the United States had built upon the Versailles Treaty, and yet repudiated so many of its most important clauses,

the tone of both the British and the French press showed considerable bitterness. In both countries the general sentiment seemed to be that the United States had taken the cream of the Versailles compact, drawn with



DR. FRIEDRICH ROSEN

German Foreign Minister, who, with Mr. Dresel, negotiated the separate peace with the United States

such difficulty and at the expenditure of such long-protracted effort, and had dropped everything which it deemed to be unfavorable to specifically American interests. French comment was especially tart, and several well-known French publicists expressed regret that France could not have drawn a treaty similarly devised to protect specifically French interests.

It was announced on Aug. 26 that peace with Austria also had been signed. The text of the document had not been given out up to the time these pages went to press. A similar treaty was soon to be signed with Hungary.

THE AGE OF LAWLESSNESS

ADDRESS BY JAMES M. BECK

Solicitor General of the United States*

A masterly analysis of the spiritual malady of the time, the general revolt against authority, which threatens civilization itself—Aversion to labor, class hatred, mass morality, all symptoms of a mechanical age devoid of character and stamina

IT is my purpose to discuss the moral psychology of the present revolt against the spirit of authority. Conceding that lawlessness is not a novel phenomenon, has not the present age been characterized by an exceptional revolt against the authority of law? The statistics of our criminal courts show in recent years an unprecedented growth in crimes. Thus, in the Federal courts, pending criminal indictments have increased from 9,503 in the year 1912 to over 70,000 in the year 1921.

While this abnormal increase is, in part, due to sumptuary legislation—for approximately 30,000 cases now pending arise under the prohibition statutes—yet, eliminating these, there yet remains an increase in nine years of nearly 400 per cent. in the comparatively narrow sphere of the Federal criminal jurisdiction.

I have been unable to get the data from the State courts, but the growth of crimes can be measured by a few illustrative statistics. Thus, the losses from burglaries which have been repaid by casualty companies have grown in amount from \$886,000 in 1914 to over \$10,000,000 in 1920; and, in a like period, embezzlements have increased fivefold.

It is notorious that the thefts from the mails and express companies and other carriers have grown to enormous proportions. The hold-up of railroad trains is now of frequent occurrence, and is not confined to the unsettled sections of the country. Not only in the United States, but even

in Europe, such crimes of violence are of increasing frequency, and a recent dispatch from Berne, under date of Aug. 7, stated that the famous International Expresses of Europe were now run under a military guard.

The streets of our cities, once reasonably secure from crimes of violence, have now become the field of operations for the footpad and highwayman. The days of Dick Turpin and Jack Sheppard have returned, with this serious difference—that the Turpins and Sheppards of our day are not dependent upon the horse, but have the powerful automobile to facilitate their crimes and make sure their escape.

In Chicago alone 5,000 automobiles were stolen in a single year. Once murder was an infrequent and abnormal crime. Today in our large cities it is of almost daily occurrence. In New York, in 1917, there were 236 murders and only sixty-seven convictions; in 1918, 221, and seventy-seven convictions. In Chicago, in 1919, there were 336, and forty-four convictions.

It has been estimated that the annual profits from violations of the prohibition laws have reached \$300,000,000. Men who thus violate these laws for sordid gain are not likely to obey other laws, and the respect for law among all classes steadily diminishes as our people become familiar with and tolerant to wholesale crimi-

*Delivered before the Bar Association of the United States at Cincinnati, Ohio, on Aug. 31, 1921.

nality. Whether the moral and economic results of prohibition overbalance this rising wave of crime, time will tell.

In the recent deflation in commodity values there was widespread repudiation of contracts among business men who had theretofore been classed as reputable. Of course, I recognize that a far greater number kept their contracts, even when it brought them to the verge of ruin. But when in the history of American business was there such a volume of broken faith as a year ago?

In the greater sphere of social life we find the same revolt against the institutions which have the sanction of the past. Laws which mark the decent restraints of print, speech and dress have in recent decades been increasingly disregarded. The very foundations of the great and primitive institutions of mankind—like the family, the Church and the State—have been shaken. Nature itself is defied. Thus, the fundamental difference of sex is disregarded by social and political movements which ignore the permanent differentiation of social function ordained by God Himself.

All these are but illustrations of the general revolt against the authority of the past—a revolt that can be measured by the change in the fundamental presumption of men with regard to the value of human experience. In all former ages all that was in the past was presumptively true, and the burden was upon him who sought to change it. Today the human mind apparently regards the lessons of the past as presumptively false—and the burden is upon him who seeks to invoke them.

Lest I be accused of undue pessimism, let me cite as a witness one who of all men is probably best equipped to express an opinion upon the moral state of the world. I refer to the venerable head of that religious organization which, with its trained representatives in every part of the world, is probably better informed as

to its spiritual state than any other organization. Speaking last Christmas Eve, in an address to the College of Cardinals, the venerable Pontiff gave expression to an estimate of present conditions which should have attracted far greater attention than it apparently did.

The Pope said that five plagues were now afflicting humanity. The first was the unprecedented challenge to authority. The second, an equally unprecedented hatred between man and man. The third was the abnormal aversion to work. The fourth, the excessive thirst for pleasure as the great aim of life. And the fifth, a gross materialism which denied the reality of the spiritual in human life. The accuracy of this indictment will commend itself to men who, like myself, are not of Pope Benedict's communion.

UNIVERSAL REVOLT

I trust that I have already shown that the challenge to authority is universal and is not confined to that of the political State. Even in the narrower confines of the latter the fires of revolution are either violently burning, or, at least, smoldering.

Two of the oldest empires in the world, which, together, have more than half of its population—China and Russia—are in a welter of anarchy; while India, Egypt, Ireland and Mesopotamia are in a state of submerged revolt. If the revolt were confined to autocratic Governments we might see in it merely a reaction against tyranny; but even in the most stable of democracies and among the most enlightened peoples the underground rumblings of revolution may be heard.

The Government of Italy has been preserved from overthrow, not alone by its constituted authorities, but by a band of resolute men, called the "fascisti," who have taken the law into their own hands, as did the vigilance committees in Western mining camps, to put down worse disorders.

Even England, the mother of democ-

racies, and once the most stable of all Governments in the maintenance of law, has been shaken to its very foundations in the last three years, when powerful groups of men attempted to seize the State by the throat and compel submission to their

the power involved in their control over the necessities of life, as compared with the power of the voting franchise, was as a 42-centimeter cannon to the bow and arrow.

The end sought to be attained, namely, the nationalization of the basic industries, and even the control of the foreign policy of Great Britain, vindicated the truth of the British Prime Minister's statement that these great strikes involved something more than a mere struggle over the conditions of labor, and that they were essentially seditious attempts against the life of the State.

Nor were they altogether unsuccessful; for, when the armies of Lenin and Trotzky were at the gates of Warsaw, in the Summer of 1920, the attempts of the Governments of England and Belgium to afford assistance to the embattled Poles were paralyzed by the labor groups of both countries, who threatened a general strike if those two nations joined with France in aiding Poland to resist a possibly greater menace to Western civilization than has occurred since Attila and his Huns stood on the banks of the Marne.

Of greater significance to the welfare of civilization is the complete subversion during the World War of nearly all the international laws which had been slowly built up in a thousand years. These principles, as codified by the two Hague conventions, were immediately swept aside in the fierce struggle for existence, and civilized man, with his liquid fire and poison gas and his deliberate attacks upon undefended cities and their women and children, waged war with the unrelenting ferocity of primitive times. Surely, this fierce war of extermination, which caused the loss of three hundred billion dollars in property and thirty millions of human lives, did mark the "twilight of civilization." The hands on the dial of time had been put back—temporarily, let us hope and pray—a thousand years.

Nor will many question the accu-



JAMES M. BECK

New Solicitor General of the United States

demands by threatening to starve the community. This would be serious enough if it were only the world-old struggle between capital and labor and had only involved the conditions of manual toil. But the insurrection against the political State in England was more political than it was economic. It marked, on the part of millions of men, a portentous decay of belief in representative government and its chosen organ—the ballot box.

Great and powerful groups had suddenly discovered—and it may be the most portentous political discovery of the twentieth century—that

racy of the second count in Pope Benedict's indictment. The war to end war only ended in unprecedented hatred between nation and nation, class and class and man and man. Victors and vanquished are involved in a common ruin. And if in this deluge which has submerged the world there is a Mount Ararat, upon which the ark of a truer and better peace can find refuge, it has not yet appeared above the troubled surface of the waters.

AVERSION TO WORK

Still less can one question the closely related third and fourth counts in Pope Benedict's indictment, namely, the unprecedented aversion to work, when work is most needed to reconstruct the foundations of prosperity, or the excessive thirst for pleasure which preceded, accompanied and now has followed the most terrible tragedy in the annals of mankind. The morale of our industrial civilization has been shattered. Work for work's sake, as the most glorious privilege of human faculties, has gone, both as an ideal and as a potent spirit. The conception of work as a degrading servitude, to be done with reluctance and grudging inefficiency, seems to be the ideal of millions of men of all classes and in all countries.

The great evil of the world today is this aversion to work. As the mechanical era diminished the element of physical exertion in work, we would have supposed that man would have sought expression for his physical faculties in other ways. On the contrary, the whole history of the mechanical era is a persistent struggle for more pay and shorter hours, and today it has culminated in worldwide ruin; for there is not a nation in civilization which is not now in the throes of economic distress, and many of them are on the verge of ruin. In my judgment, the economic catastrophe of 1921 is far greater than the politico-military catastrophe of 1914.

The results of these two tendencies,

measured in the statistics of productive industry, are literally appalling. Thus, in 1920 Italy, according to statistics of her Minister of Labor, lost 55,000,000 days of work because of strikes alone. From July to September many great factories were in the hands of revolutionary communists. A full third of these strikes had for their end political and not economic purposes. In Germany the progressive revolt of labor against work is thus measured by competent authority: There were lost in strikes in 1917, 900,000 working days; in 1918 4,900,000 and in 1919 46,600,000. Even in our own favored land the same phenomena are observable. In the State of New York alone for 1920 there was a loss due to strikes of over 10,000,000 working days. In all countries the losses by such cessations from labor are little as compared with those due to the spirit which in England is called "ca' canny," or the shirking of performance of work, and to sabotage, which means the deliberate destruction of machinery in operation.

Everywhere the phenomenon has been observed that, with the highest wages known in the history of modern times, there has been an unmistakable lessening of efficiency, and that with an increase in the number of workers there has been a decrease in output. Thus, the transportation companies in this country have seriously made a claim against the United States Government for damages to their roads amounting to \$750,000,000, claimed to be due to the inefficiency of labor during the period of Governmental operation.

Accompanying this indisposition to work efficiently has been a mad desire for pleasure such as, if it existed in like measure in preceding ages, has not been seen within the memory of living man. * * *

Of the last count in Pope Benedict's indictment I shall say but little. It is more appropriate for the members of that great and noble profession which is more intimately con-

cerned with the spiritual advance of mankind. It is enough to say that, while the Church as an institution continues to exist, the belief in the supernatural and even in the spiritual has been supplanted by a gross and widespread materialism.

CAUSES DEEPER THAN WAR

If you agree with me in my premises, then we are not likely to disagree in the conclusion that the causes of these grave symptoms are not ephemeral or superficial, but must have their origin in some deep-seated and world-wide change in human society. If there is to be a remedy, we must diagnose this malady of the human soul.

For example, let us not "lay the flattering unction to our souls" that this spirit is but the reaction of the great war. The present weariness and lassitude of human spirit and the disappointment and disillusion as to the aftermath of the harvest of blood may have aggravated, but they could not cause the symptoms of which I speak; for the very obvious reason that all these symptoms were in existence and apparent to a few discerning men for decades before the war. Indeed, it is possible that the World War, far from causing the "malaise" of the age, was, in itself, but one of its many symptoms.

A race of individuals obey reluctantly, when they obey at all, any laws which they regard as unreasonable or vexatious. This spirit has always existed, and the so-called "best people" have not been innocent. Thus, nearly all women are involuntary smugglers. They deny the authority of the State to impose a tax upon a Paquin gown. Again, our profession must sorrowfully confess that the law's delay and laxity in administration breed a spirit of contempt, and too often invite men to take the law into their own hands. These causes are so familiar that their statement is a commonplace.

Proceeding to deeper and less rec-

ognized causes, some would attribute this spirit of lawlessness to the rampant individualism which began in the eighteenth century and which has steadily and naturally grown with the advance of democratic institutions. Men talked, and still talk, loudly of their rights, but too rarely of their duties. To diagnose truly this malady we must look to some cause that is coterminous in time with the disease itself, and which has been operative throughout civilization. * * *

MACHINES AND SUPERMEN

Man has suddenly become the superman. His voice can now reach from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and, taking wings in his airplane, he can fly in one swift flight from Nova Scotia to England, or he can leave Lausanne and, resting upon the icy summit of Mont Blanc, outfly the eagles themselves.

In thus acquiring from the forces of nature almost illimitable power, he has minimized the necessity for his own physical exertion or even mental skill. The machine now not only acts for him, but almost thinks for him. This almost infinite multiplication of human power has tended to intoxicate man. The lust for power has obsessed him, without regard to whether it be constructive or destructive. He consumes the treasures of the earth faster than it produces them, deforesting its surface and disemboweling its hidden wealth.

As he feverishly multiplies the things he desires, even more feverishly he multiplies his wants. To gain these he seeks the congested centres of human life. And, while the world as a whole is not overpopulated, the leading countries of civilization are subjected to this tremendous pressure. Europe, which at the beginning of the nineteenth century barely numbered 100,000,000 people, suddenly grew nearly five-fold. Millions have left the farms to gather into the cities and exploit

their new and seemingly easy conquest over nature.

In our own country, as recently as 1880, only 15 per cent. of our people were crowded in the cities; 85 per cent. remained upon the farms and still followed that occupation, which, of all occupations, still preserves in its integrity the dominance of human labor over the machine. Today 52 per cent. of our population is in the cities, and with many of them existence is both feverish and artificial. While they have employment, many of them do not themselves work, but spend their lives in watching machines work. The result has been a minute subdivision of labor that has denied to many workers the true significance and physical benefit of labor.

The printing press has piled up great treasures of human knowledge which make this age the richest in accessible information. I am not speaking of knowledge, but rather of the current thought of the living generation. I gravely question whether it has the same clarity as the brain of the generation which fashioned the Constitution of the United States. Our fathers could not talk over the telephone for 3,000 miles, but have we surpassed them in thoughts of enduring value? Washington and Franklin could not travel sixty miles an hour in a railroad train, or twice that distance in an airplane, but does it follow that they did not travel to as good purpose as we, who scurry to and fro like the ants in a disordered ant-heap?

New York, which has fifty theatres and annually spends \$100,000,000 in the box offices of its varied amusement resorts, has never in two centuries produced a single play that has lived. Today man has a cinematographic brain. A thousand images are impressed daily upon the screen of his consciousness, and they are as fleeting as moving pictures in a cinema theatre.

The press prints every year over

29,000,000,000 issues. No one can question its educational possibilities, for the best of all colleges is the University of Gutenberg. If it printed only the truth, its value would be infinite; but who can say in what proportions of this vast volume of printed matter are the true and the false?

Before the beginning of the present mechanical age the current of living thought could be likened to a mountain stream, which, though confined within narrow banks, yet had waters of transparent clearness. May not the current of thought of our time be compared with the mighty Mississippi in the period of a Spring freshet? Its banks are wide and its current swift, but the turbid stream that flows onward is one of muddy swirls and eddies and overflows its banks to their destruction.

The great indictment, however, of the present age of mechanical power is that it has largely destroyed the spirit of work. The great enigma which it propounds to us, and which, like the riddle of the Sphinx, we will solve or be destroyed, is this: "Has the increase in the potential of human power, through thermodynamics, been accompanied by a corresponding increase in the potential of human character?"

MASS MORALITY

The specialization of our modern mechanical civilization has caused a submergence of the individual into the group or class. Man is fast ceasing to be the unit of human society; self-governing groups are becoming the new units. This is true of all classes of men, the employers as well as the employees. A mass morality has been substituted for individual morality, and, unfortunately, group morality generally intensifies the vices more than the virtues of man. What was true of Germany was true—although in lesser degree—of all civilized nations. In all of them the individual had been submerged in

formations, and the effect upon the character of man has not been beneficial.

To all this, the nineteenth century, in its exultant pride in its conquest of the invisible forces, was almost blind. It not only accepted progress as an unmistakable fact—mistaking, however, acceleration and facilitation for progress—but in its mad pride believed in an immutable law of progress which, working with the blind forces of machinery, would propel man forward. A few men, however, standing on the mountain ranges of human observation, saw the future more clearly than did the mass. Emerson, Carlyle, Ruskin, Samuel Butler and Max Nordau, in the nineteenth century, and, in our time, Ferrero, all pointed out the inevitable dangers of the excessive mechanization of human society. Their prophecies were, unhappily, little heeded. * * *

POSSIBLE REMEDIES

There are many palliatives for the evils which I have discussed. To rekindle in men the love of work for work's sake and the spirit of discipline, which the lost sense of human solidarity once inspired, would do much to solve the problem, for work is the greatest moral force in the world. If we of this generation can only recognize that the evil exists, then the situation is not past remedy.

I have faith in the inextinguishable spark of the Divine which is in the human soul and which our complex mechanical civilization has not extinguished. Of this, the World War was in itself a proof. All the horrible resources of mechanics and chemistry were utilized to coerce the human soul, and all proved ineffectual. Never did men rise to greater heights of self-sacrifice or show a greater fidelity "even unto death." Millions went to their graves, as to their beds, for an ideal; and when that is possible, this Pandora's box of modern civilization, which contained all imaginable evils, as well as benefits, also leaves hope intact. I am reminded

of a remark that the great Rumanian statesman, Take Ionescu, made during the Peace Conference at Paris. When asked his views as to the future of civilization, he replied: "Judged by the light of reason there is but little hope, but I have faith in man's inextinguishable impulse to live."

But what can the law and our profession do in this warfare against the blind forces of nature? The law can do something to protect the soul of man from destruction by the soulless machine. It can defend the spirit of individualism. We must defend the right to work against those who would either destroy or degrade it. We must defend the right of every man not only to join with others in protecting his interests, whether he is a brain worker or a hand worker—for without the right of combination the individual would often be the victim of giant forces—but we must vindicate the equal right of an individual, if he so wills, to depend upon his own strength.

BULWARK IN THE CONSTITUTION.

Of this spirit of individualism the noblest expression is the Constitution of the United States. That institution has not wholly escaped the destructive tendencies of a mechanical age. It was framed at the very end of the pastoral-agricultural age and at a time when the spirit of individualism was in full flower. The mechanical civilization has greatly modified the dual character of our Government.

If, however, in this respect, the Constitution has proved little more than a sandy beach, which the tidal waves of elemental forces have slowly eroded, yet we can proudly claim that in another and more important respect the Constitution has withstood the ceaseless washing of the waves of changing circumstances, as the Rock of Gibraltar itself.

The greatest and noblest purpose of the Constitution was not alone to hold in nicest equipoise the relative powers of the nation and the States, but also to maintain in the scales of

justice a true equilibrium between the rights of government and the rights of an individual. It does not believe that the State, much less the caprices of a fleeting majority, is omnipotent, or that it has been sanctified with any oil of anointing, such as was once assumed to give the monarch infallibility. About the individual the Constitution draws the solemn circle of its protection. It defends the integrity of the human soul.

In other Governments these fundamental decencies of liberty rest upon the conscience of the Legislature. In our country they are part of the fundamental law, and, as such, enforce-

able by Judges sworn to defend the integrity of the individual as fully as the integrity of the State. Therefore, the greatest service that the bench and bar can render in combating the evils of a mechanical age is to defend and preserve in its full integrity the Constitution of our fathers. Let us, then, as its interpreters and guardians—and as such the civilian soldiers of the State—do all that in us lies to preserve this inspired vision of the fathers, for again the solemn warning of the wise man of old recurs to us: "Where there is no vision, the people perish; but he that keepeth the law, happy is he."

WHY HELIGOLAND IS UNHAPPY

AUG. 4, 1921, was a sad day for the inhabitants of the island of Heligoland. It was the seventh anniversary of the British declaration of war on Germany, and it recalled to the Heligolandians the fact that the outcome of this war was the Versailles Treaty. The connection is as follows:

This rocky stronghold in the North Sea, lying off the mouths of the Elbe and Weser Rivers, twenty-eight miles from the mainland, had been British since 1807, when the English took it from the Danes. It was ceded by Great Britain to Germany in exchange for the German island of Zanzibar in 1890, a bargain in the making of which British diplomacy, for once, was caught napping, if not soundly asleep. Bismarck had fully realized the military value of the island, but it was his successor, Caprivi, who persuaded the Marquis of Salisbury, then British Foreign Minister, to negotiate the exchange. The statement issued by Salisbury at the time showed that he was entirely blind to the weapon he was putting into Germany's hand.

The Kaiser at once removed the old-fashioned English defenses, and replaced them with armored turrets, mounting guns of heavy calibre. As a base for Germany's growing navy, it was ideal. In 1892 the

island was incorporated formally with Prussia, when it was provided that all natives born before 1880 should have the right to choose either British or German nationality. Until 1901 no additional import duties or taxes were imposed. Since then the iron hand of Germany has been felt more and more. Customs duties have been increased: new taxes, previously unknown, now bear heavily on the inhabitants. Many rights guaranteed by the Anglo-German cession compact of 1890 have gone by the board. The Heligolandians have organized a home rule movement, and have made appeal after appeal to Great Britain. The latter country is powerless to help them—and the reason is the Treaty of Versailles. By that treaty all former treaties and agreements lapsed, including that of 1890. Under Article 115 of the Versailles pact, the only right Great Britain retains is that of compelling the dismantling of the island's fortifications. Beyond that Great Britain cannot go. Hence Aug. 4 was a day of mourning in the rocky, mist-wrapped island, which longs vainly to go back to the good old days when Heligoland was a British possession. The forlorn hope of an appeal to the League of Nations was tried by the Heligolandians in September.

SPAIN'S HOME RULE PROBLEM IN CATALONIA

BY CARLETON BEALS*

Fierce nationalism of the Catalans in the Barcelona region creating a situation like that of Ireland—Demand for autonomy with a separate Parliament—Medieval obstacles to reform in Spain

WHEN the Mayor of Cork died the windows of the British Consulate in Barcelona were smashed to the cries of "Long live the Republics of Ireland and Catalonia!" A few months later I saw the Spanish yellow and red *bandera* torn down from the Gran Via Arguelles, and in the Teatro del Liceo heard the "Royal March" drowned in hisses. Cambo, the leader of the Catalan Nationalist movement, recently declared that the *Lliga Regionalista de Catalunya*—the Home Rule League of Catalonia—constituted the only orderly governing force in a State torn by official, military and syndicalist terror. He felt himself to be speaking for more than 4,000,000 people, occupying a territory embracing not only Catalonia, but the eastern half of the adjacent provinces; the gem-like islands of the Balearic Archipelago; the quaint, dirty city of Alguër in Sardinia, the tiny, crag-perched Republic of Andorra, and Roussillon of the French Department of the Eastern Pyrenees.

This nationalism is recrudescant, not new; and though altered in spirit and purpose, its roots run deep into the soil of prehistoric Spain. The Cataláns believe themselves to be the only true descendants of the Iberians and the Romans—the Spaniards being Celts, Goths, Arabs and lesser breeds without the law. They support this contention with semi-scientific data showing that the cranial measurements of the Cataláns are, if

not superior to, at least different from, those of the Castilians. They proudly ask if it is not true that the Ebro (Iberian) River is born in the Catalán Pyrenees and dies in the Tarragonian Sea in order to divide Catalonia for all time from the rest of Spain—a postern castle-moat, as it were, to a Catalonia that should ever face toward Italy, the Mediterranean, the Orient.

Their pride in their Roman parentage is not unfounded. The Roman impress left its most indelible traces in Catalonia. The remains of the ancient walls and gates that enclosed what for a time was the greatest Roman city of the Peninsula may still be seen in Barcelona's plazas of Regomir and Angel. Did not the Romans also use the River Ebro to divide Spain into *Hispania Ulterior* and *Citerior*, the latter—the civilized portion—remaining more or less intact down to the seventeenth century? Even now the streets bear Catalán names that are reminiscent of the Roman conquest, and so strange that the bewildered Spaniards have insisted that the Castilian equivalents be placed beneath; and the foot-pilgrim in the fertile Llanos of Urgel of the Valley of the Segres, or in the mountains behind Barcelona, will be wise

*Mr. Beals, who holds degrees from Columbia and the University of California, was for a time Principal of the American High School in Mexico City and instructor in English to the staff of President Carranza. He has traveled extensively in the last three years, especially in Latin countries, and has contributed articles to Spanish as well as American publications.

if he freshens his Italian and French, for both will prove more useful than Spanish in communicating with the peasantry.

Nor is the history of Catalonia without glory. Following the early union of Aragon and Catalonia under the Barcelonian dynasty of the Berengueres, the two States were projected upon a brilliant imperial career. Alfonso V. died ruling over all Eastern Spain and the Balearic Islands; over Corsica and Sardinia, where the guttural dialect and the sallow skins of the people attest to this day those centuries of occupation; over Greece, Sicily, Naples and Milan. The Cataláns claim this glory equally with the Argonese, and point to the cultural prominence of Barcelona during this period, when that city rivaled Genoa and Venice as the great mart of the Mediterranean.

But the tide of Aragonese and Catalán supremacy turned, leaving Castile pre-eminent. Castile owed its ascendancy to fortunate marriages and a series of strong rulers. To Madrid flocked the fortune-seekers and the scribblers; even the great Catalan, Boscan, deserted his native tongue for the popular Castilian. These occurrences were symptomatic of the economic decline of the Mediterranean world, resulting from the break-up of the Eastern trade routes. Castile, furthering the Westward movement of discovery, exploration and conquest, embodied the spirit of the new age.

But Castilian dominion over Catalonia was not easily maintained—the memories of old glories died hard. As late as 1640 occurred the uprising of the Catalán harvesters, who on Corpus Christi Day—known as *El Corpus de Sangre*—descended upon Barcelona to massacre all the Castilians, singing as they came the savage "Hymn of the Reapers"—"*Els Segadors*." That is still the anthem of Catalonia and "drives the people crazy with excitement." No wonder that in 1652 Felipe IV. was willing to cede Roussillon and the adjoining

Catalán districts, with half of Sardinia, to the French, in the hope of extinguishing, or at least dividing, the strong local patriotism. From that day the obliteration of that patriotism proceeded apace, until by the time of the repulse of the Napoleonic invaders, Catholic Catalonia was bitterly alienated from revolutionary, atheistic Roussillon, and had completely identified its interests with those of Spain.

REVIVAL OF NATIONALISM

Yet the last sixty years have witnessed a resurrection of *catalanismo*, heralded by the trumpet calls of the poets, who since 1849 in annual competition for a public award of flowers and the title of Master of the Gay Science have gathered at their *Jochs Florals* to declaim their patriotic odes.

We all are born of the same great height,
And drink the waters from its snow;
With equal rhythm our songs we write;
Our cries in common echoes grow.*

Thus sang Margall, the most passionate of them all; and the common echoes awoke a concerted artistic, scientific, linguistic, political and economic renaissance, which has strained at the barriers of Castilian paternalism and for two decades has threatened to sweep them away altogether.

The *Unio Catalanista* was launched upon the turbulent waters of rushing nationalism with all the enthusiasm, the bigotry and bitterness of a new-found faith. It was soon superseded by the Catalán Home Rule League, which, although backing a much more liberal and intelligent program, has had a tempestuous career. It brunted every Central aggression and headed into the violent storm of 1909, when Catalán impertinence was engulfed and annihilated in blood and iron.

Even more sanguinary were its struggles with the Republican movement, which centred in Barcelona.

*Tots devallen de la mateixa alçada
tots bevem aigua de les mateixes neus;
nostres consons tenen igual tonada
i nostres crits despertem idéntics tonaveus.

Republicanism perforce postulated a program for the whole of Spain; it could not be regional. Much of the energy of both sects was for years dissipated in bloodshed on the streets of Barcelona—a recurring spectacle relished by the aristocrats of Madrid, to judge by some of their piquant and nasty personal correspondence.

But after the bloody setback of 1909 the Nationalists, with that easy shifting of levers that makes all Latin politics so speed-burning, united with the Republicans on the sensible program of local autonomy and peninsular federation. But the Republicans, guided by the noisy Lerroux, soon betrayed the Nationalists for their own interests. Lerroux entered the Liberal Cabinet of the Conde de Romanones, the most clever scene-shifter of the Spanish political stage, on a compromise that gave the Count a free hand in twisting the neck of Catalán nationalism.

After a period of disheartening dissolution and sporadic violence, the national sentiment again flooded its banks in the violent uprisings of 1918, when secession was averted only by a clever alienation of the principal Catalán leaders with the promise of Cabinet representation and posts in the Government. Yet, in spite of such betrayals, the Home Rulers did not lose their spirit, and only await a favorable opportunity to set up an independent government. In 1919 they even expected to carry their appeal to the newly formed League of Nations, but the great powers' hasty desertion of the principle of the rights of small nations saved that august body from one more embarrassment.

WHAT CATALONIA DEMANDS

The existing program was adopted in the Congress of the League held in 1916. It was summarized in the *España* for June of that year, as follows:

1. The State of Catalonia to be autonomous, with sovereign control over its internal affairs.

2. A Parliament or Legislature to be responsible to the Catalán people.

3. An Executive Power responsible only to the Catalán Parliament.

4. The enforcement of Catalán law, the Parliament to be the instrument of its resurrection. (This refers to the old rights and privileges guaranteed to Catalonia by Aragón and later by Ferdinand and Isabella at the time of the union in 1649. These were abolished by Philip V. in the eighteenth century.)

5. A Catalán judicial power, with a Supreme Court to have final jurisdiction over all trials and suits of Catalán origin.

6. Official use of the Catalán tongue, and its unrestricted use in all private and public activities.

7. A federated union, Spanish or Iberian, directed by a central power which shall have charge of foreign relations, interstate relations, the army and navy, communications, money, weights and measures, customs, &c.

With this program Catalonia for the first time enlisted strong sympathy in other parts of Spain. Bitter experience has taught the futility of fighting Castile single-handed. Mere Catalan independence has been recognized as too narrow an aim, and by example and propaganda the Home Rulers have stimulated that disintegrating sectionalism—the love for the *patria chica*—to be found among the Basques, the Galicians, and to some extent among the Andalusians.

This program has also won the support of the Liberals. Their position is best stated by Señor Luis Araquistain in his "Spain in the Crucible" (Barcelona, 1921, Page 118):

At the same time that Catalonia demands autonomy, it expresses the desire that other districts also organize themselves in such manner as to promote their economic development, with the double objective of energetically constricting the Spanish State and of paving the way for the political reorganization of the country, perhaps of the Iberian Peninsula, on a federative basis, with Catalonia as the guide and centre. This idea of an Iberian federation, freely concerted, is not foreign to the minds of the leaders of the Catalán movement for autonomy. It is an idea so momentous that it cannot fail to preoccupy the thought of any individual in the Iberian Peninsula who has any historic understanding. Iberia, or the United States of Iberia, would then have four large capitals—four ports of

communication with the world: Lisbon, the Atlantic capital; Barcelona, the Mediterranean capital; Bilboa, the Cantabrian capital; and Cadiz, a capital destined to a great future by its maritime proximity to the future routes between America and the east coast of Africa. If in the independence movement of Catalonia there is any germ of this idea, no Spaniard wise to the future of his country will hesitate to give it his warmest support.

WARNING TO CENTRALISTS

Yet the Catalans hold the possibility of complete separation in abeyant reserve should that federalism prove tardy or impracticable and feudal exactions become too onerous. Absolute separation has been battled for with arms and ideas on many a historic occasion. Through the centuries the advocates of complete separation have spread their propaganda. One notable warning directed to the Centralists has echoed and re-echoed through Spain for twenty years. On the heels of the Spanish-American war, when the country was smarting from the loss of Cuba and the Philippines, and when serious disturbances were occurring in Catalonia, Spain's great Liberal, Pi y Margall, published in *El Nuevo Regimen* Dec. 29, 1900, a clarion call of alarm. The Catalans have never forgotten its stimulating peroration:

Ah, impenitent Centralists! Have you so soon forgotten the errors that resulted in the loss of Cuba? By the same errors you are endangering the integrity of the *patria*. By our Federal system we would guarantee integrity; with your system you are ceaselessly weakening all bonds of union. Every unwarranted attack is a destructive blow against an already crumbling wall. If the day comes that Catalonia rises against Spain, yours, mistake it not, will be the blame!

Then and since, the eyes of Catalonia have been turned toward France. French troops helped the Catalans in the seventh century, and during the recent World War the Catalans were enthusiastically pro-French in contrast to the violent pro-Germanism of Madrid. The leaders of Barcelona's economic life would

prefer a union with industrialized France to the present uncertain chaos.

The root of these difficulties is economic. Beneath an inherited Roman super-state centralism that has precluded all exercise of democracy, Spain has been riveted to intellectual and social backwardness, crushed to a condition of slothful inertia—singularly isolated from all the forward-looking movements of Western Europe. Even the Napoleonic conquest, which plowed up the dead earth of feudalism and exposed it to the sunlight of the new times, could not cut deep into the ecclesiastical power of Spain, or destroy the traditional growth of *poder* that clung to Church, State and law. The upper house is quite nonrepresentative; the elections to the lower house are effectively controlled by illiteracy and *caciquismo*—local bossism. The Government of Spain is feudal and bureaucratic. It is more.

SPAIN'S MEDIEVAL INCUBUS

Madrid is the rallying point for all feudal interests. Hence Madrid is moribund, degenerate, repulsive. The lower class, with a diet one-fourth that of the British worker, is in Madrid more brutalized and servile than in any other part of the country. The middle class, consisting largely of Government clerks and petty officials, apes the decadent vices of the aristocracy. The aristocracy is vile, diseased and vapidly ignorant. Only too clearly has Jacinto Benavente, in his "*La Comida de las Férias*," with bleak, cynical strokes pictured it as sucking the life-blood of a Spain whose social structure hangs on the precipice of anarchy. Many of the clergy are the nadir of indecency. Degeneracy also pervades every department of Government, so that a terrible ecclesiastical, medieval incubus weights the back of every individual in Spain.

But around the fringe, the periphery, has grown up a semi-modernized Spain. In the bustling seaports

—Corunna, Bilbao, San Sebastian, Vigo, Cadiz, Valencia, Barcelona—another type of Spaniard is encountered—aggressive, untutored, but not degenerate. The Catalans are the most alert of all; frugal and close-fisted like the French; energetic and purposeful like the Americans. Catalonia is the most vigorous of these outlying areas. Barcelona is the greatest industrial centre and mart of Spain.

Furthermore, the Mediterranean is again the courtesan of the empires. This new Cleopatra offers with herself the newly discovered oil and mineral lands of the Near East and the Caucasus regions, and the control of the Orient. In Italy the *risorgimento* was not checked by the war. The troubled, slate-cliffed Adriatic, reaching a long arm up to the heart of Europe, assumes a new economic importance in the councils of the nations. Today an industrialized Barce-

lona is prepared to dominate the Ligurian Sea and the western end of the Mediterranean. This prosperity the Catalans declare they cannot enjoy as long as they must submit to the exactions of the decadent Government of Castile. Thus feudal and industrial Spain are in open and violent opposition. Industrialized Spain wishes to secede from medieval Spain, to slough off the leadership of the inefficient, parasitical Madrilenan bureaucracy, which has no interest in modern industrial activity and watches Catalan enterprise with sullen suspicion and jealousy when it is not actually fomenting disorder and devising new and irksome restrictions upon industrial expansion.

The proof of the economic character of this split is also to be found in the fact that the supporters of the home-rule movement are restricted to the bourgeoisie and the better middle class. The labor movement of the



BLACK AREA IN THE NORTHEAST CORNER OF SPAIN REPRESENTS THE PROVINCE OF CATALONIA, AND THE SHADED SECTION ADJOINING SHOWS THE REST OF THE REGION WHICH THE CATALAN LEADERS DESIRE TO SET UP AS A SEPARATE STATE

province is bitterly aloof from both contestants. It is anarchistic and syndicalistic. Its weapons are the terror, assassination, sabotage, the general strike; its goal, the world industrial revolution. More than one factory owner, more than one State official, more than one *guardia civil* has been snuffed out by bomb, revolver or knife with the cry flung in the face of the world that "all the blood of the bourgeoisie will not satisfy us for the blood of our slaughtered comrades." The syndicalists, on the other hand, when the Centre does permit them the license to make war on the Catalan manufacturers, are shot down by hundreds, their legal advisers assassinated at their doors, and their leaders deported or flung into the holds of musty frigates to be beaten by the leaded knout and stretched on the iron wheel in queer loyalty to the memory of Torquemada and the honesty of the fantastical cartoons of Goya.

Thus Catalonia is engulfed in a constant tempest of violence, a three-cornered conflict that has blindly de-

generated into terror, riot and assassination. The syndicalists battle with the *patronos*, with the central feudalism, and with the home-rule movement. The bourgeoisie battle against the paralyzing extortion of the Centre, even in the hour that it accepts its aid against the syndicalists. The Central Government battles with syndicalist, Catalan Nationalist, and the light of modern Europe. The Centre knows no remedy except through the time-honored instrument of force; the Catalan bourgeoisie fear any revolution that will undermine the Spanish State, seeing the solution in a war of secession that they shall control; the syndicalists discountenance all government, and with the flame of Russia across the Pyrenees see the only hope in industrial revolution.

Three formless despotisms heaped together on the scales of human aspiration and selfishness! The few sane lovers of democratic processes look impotently on, praying for reason and peaceful, evolutionary processes—ere the wall completely crumble.

FRENCH JUSTICE IN CAMEROON

FRANCE, it has often been said, and with some ground of justice, is not a good colonizing nation, in contrast with Great Britain, which has been declared to be the best colonizing nation in the world. There are evidences, however, that France is seeking to emulate the example of her neighbor across the Channel. One of these evidences is a decree issued on April 13, 1921, the result of which has been only recently published. This decree concerned itself with the organization of justice in Cameroon. Its main novelty consisted in its provisions for the trying of all accused natives—not French citizens—in their own districts, and before tribunals of their own race, presided over by the head official of each district. In this way the natives are to be spared the long absences from their native villages formerly necessitated by a journey to the chief city, often situated at a considerable

distance. The rights of the accused natives are to be guaranteed in various ways and all local customs respected. The various races are to be differentiated and treated accordingly. Any penalty above three years' imprisonment is to be referred to a special tribunal sitting at Douala.

The Paris Temps in its issue of Aug. 17, 1921, stated that reports from Cameroon indicated that excellent results had already been attained from the operation of this new judicial system and that the reforms instituted bade fair to be permanent. So the world progresses and the idealistic doctrine scattered broadcast upon the waters of international polity by the United States declaring that mandates and protectorates should not be devices of arbitrary exploitation, but rather instruments of humane and enlightened administration, is bearing fruit even in what was once the Dark Continent.

ALBANIA'S FIRST YEAR OF INDEPENDENCE

BY CONSTANTINE A. CHEKREZI
Commissioner of Albania to the United States

Story of the new nation's vicissitudes during and since the Peace Conference—How the Albanians cast off the Italian military yoke and established an independent Government at Tirana—Recently recognized and admitted by the League of Nations

THE month of September, 1921, marked the completion of one year of real independence for Albania. It is quite true that she had been proclaimed independent as far back as 1912, but her autonomy was a theory rather than an actual condition. The fact is that from 1912 to 1920 Albania went through a series of tribulations and crises that were more or less incompatible with the status of national sovereignty.

Prior to the advent to her throne of the Prince of Weid (March 7, 1914), the area of free Albania was less than one-fifth of her actual territorial possessions; under his government, her lot became all the more pitiful, for the Prince soon showed himself to be a mere puppet of Austria and Italy. After his departure from the country, the Governmental authority was usurped by Essad Pasha, the Adventurer, who would have fitted into the darkest moments of the Middle Ages. And then there came the barbaric inroads of the belligerents in the World War. The Peace Conference, finally, went so far in denying the right of the Albanian Nation to independence as to partition her twice in succession, the last time in January, 1920.

When the Albanians heard of this second partition, an overwhelming wave of indignation swept through the population, and inasmuch as Italy herself had agreed to the project of

partition in violation of the most solemn pledges, the wrath of the people was turned against the Italian forces, who occupied Valona. It was then that a national convention met at Lushnja, in defiance of the armed opposition of these troops. The convention formed a new Government and informed the powers that Albania would fight to the last man in order to save the country. In an address to the Italian Parliament and Government, the convention stated emphatically that there was enough blood left in the Albanians' veins to avenge the betrayal. The whole country was in a state of feverish excitement, and bloody encounters between the Italian troops and the natives were taking place every day, duplicating the recent events in Ireland. The Albanian Government, believing that the whole question would be reconsidered by the Peace Conference, had refrained from declaring war; yet this same Government unwittingly precipitated the crisis.

THE FIGHT FOR INDEPENDENCE

It had been left to Italy to determine the extent of the hinterland of Valona, but so far the Italians had left the whole matter in the dark in the hope that some favorable turn would enable them to extend the hinterland as much as possible. Natu-

rally enough, the Albanian Government—which had already won such prestige at home that, even though the country was under the military administration of Italy, the Albanian people ignored this military authority and paid their taxes to their national authorities—had no means of knowing how far the limits on the hinterland went. In the belief that the town of Tepelen, some ninety kilometers south of Valona, was not included in the hinterland, the Government appointed a subprefect for the Province of Tepelen, in compliance with the wishes of her inhabitants. The entry of the subprefect in the town of Tepelen was to be an elaborate State affair organized by the people themselves. He was to enter the city with a troop of Albanian volunteers just arrived from America, who had brought with them their own musical band from Worcester, Mass. Tirana, where the Government was sitting, was far off and without any communications; it could not foresee that such a trivial matter as the appointment of a subprefect to a province that was not supposed to be contested by the Italians would precipitate a war.

The subprefect, the volunteers and the musical band arrived before the town on May 25 without the slightest intimation that the Italians would resist. As soon as the marching volunteers, with the band playing national airs, reached the gates of Tepelen, the forts began belching forth fire from their guns, to the utter confusion of the untrained volunteers. Little by little, however, they recovered their wits and rallied their forces. They cut the Italian communications off from the other military stations, and laid siege to the town. Ten days later the Italian garrison surrendered with arms, guns and ammunition, and everything else they possessed fell into the hands of the Albanian volunteers, who had, in the meantime, been reinforced by the native population. This was the outbreak of the war with Italy. When informed of the occurrence, the

Government of Tirana laid the blame on the Italians, rightly enough, because it was they who had opened fire on the unsuspecting Albanians.

This unexpected initial victory fired with enthusiasm the whole Albanian people. On June 5 various leaders of the Province of Valona held a secret meeting at Mavrova, ten kilometers outside of Valona, and, having been duly prepared for the emergency, sent an ultimatum to the Italian General in command of the forces of occupation, demanding that he evacuate and surrender Valona within twenty-four hours. Obviously, this was a most foolhardy action. The Italian commander prepared the city for defense. On June 6 the Albanians launched a furious attack. They fought with the bravery inspired by despair and by the grim determination to die or succeed. One by one the outer lines of defense fell into the hands of the attackers, who got over the barbed-wire entanglements by stepping on their heavy woolen coats, which they stretched over the wires. A more daring undertaking cannot be conceived. They even penetrated into the town of Valona itself, to be repulsed only by the broadside fire of the Italian warships anchored in the port.

The fighting spread now throughout Albania. At last the Italian Government dispatched Baron Carlo Aliotti to Albania to open peace negotiations, but after many days of diplomatic bickering on the one hand and successful fighting on the other he was recalled because of his intriguing actions. Count Enrico Manzoni succeeded him, and the protocol suspending hostilities and providing for the withdrawal of the Italian troops from Albania, including Valona, was signed at Tirana on the second day of August, 1920.

The conflict thus came to an end. The Italians evacuated the territories they held, and Valona was surrendered on Sept. 27 to the newly appointed Albanian Governor, Kiazim Koculi, Commander-in-Chief of the forces operating in the sector of

Valona; to his indomitable courage and ability Valona largely owes her freedom. The dream had become a reality. By the protocol of Tirana the provisions of the Secret Treaty of London, partitioning Albania, were annulled. The mandate was thrown overboard, and Italy recognized the sovereignty of Albania. In the meantime, while the conflict with the Italians was raging, another happy turn of affairs had brought about the retirement of the French troops from the Albanian territories they had been holding, and in less than nine months from the time when the powers decreed her partition, Albania found herself independent and united, instead.

WINNING RECOGNITION

Albania's triumph made a profound impression on the outside world, and the project of partition dropped out of sight. Yet insidious rumors were still spread broadcast by Albania's enemies, intimating that the people were not mature for independence; that they did not possess enough national consciousness to keep them together; that they lacked able leadership to guide them through the crises that beset the life of a nation. Even after the accomplished fact and the voluntary grouping of the people around their Government, there still lingered this hostile expectation. For that reason the powers relegated the Albanian question to the background; for a time they even appeared to have forgotten it altogether. The Supreme Council, the Ambassadorial Conference, the Premiers' Conferences met here and there from time to time; but Albania did not enter their discussions. In spite of the repeated efforts of the Albanian Government to secure recognition, the powers showed themselves non-committal in their attitude.

There was a flurry of excitement when Albania asked for admission to the League of Nations last December. The Assembly of the League referred

the request to the Committee on Admission of New Members, and the majority of the committee reported against it. Lord Robert Cecil of the minority reserved, however, the right to reopen the question in the Assembly. And then the unexpected happened. Thanks to Lord Robert's eloquent speech, which was seconded by the effective oratory of M. Rene Viviani and other delegates, especially of Mr. Fischer of Canada, Albania was admitted to full membership in the League of Nations by the unanimous vote of the Assembly. It is worthy of record that the delegate of India, Imam Ali, a Moslem, advocated the admission of Albania on the ground that she is the only country where the Cross and the Crescent live peacefully together—an allusion to the fraternal relations of the Christians and Mohammedans there. It was a dramatic session indeed, that of Dec. 17, 1920, all the more so because the Supreme Council had warned the League against the admission of Albania on the ground that she had not been recognized by the powers. Her admission by the League was the first diplomatic recognition of her efforts for independence.

THE QUESTION OF BOUNDARIES

During the discussions in the Assembly of the League it came out that the main objection was based on the fact that Albania's frontiers had not been determined. This question was a complicated one. The Secret Treaty of London had assigned to Serbia the province of Scutari and to Greece the provinces of Koritza and Argyrocastro, as a compensation for Italy's occupation of Valona (with the undetermined hinterland), and for the Italian mandate. By the agreement of Tirana, however, Italy renounced all claims on Albania, both as to the mandate and the territorial possessions. Clearly, then, Serbia and Greece could not claim the northern and southern provinces, respectively,

on the basis of that treaty. But it is difficult for any Government to give up claims that have been somehow recognized as valid, even though the basis on which they rested no longer exists. Serbia and Greece, therefore, found a new basis for their claims. Serbia demands the province of Scutari on historical, strategical and commercial grounds. Greece, on the other hand, lays stress on the theory that the provinces of Koritza and Arghyrocastro are inhabited by members of the Greek Orthodox Church, who allegedly wished to unite with their coreligionists in the Kingdom of Constantine. That theory, if accepted, would make the author of this article a Greek, for he is a native of Koritza, and his family belong to the Greek Orthodox Church.

Albania, Serbia and Greece all presented their case before the League of Nations, which found itself unable to reach a decision. These questions have perplexed the powers greatly. I am officially informed that they have at last agreed to recognize the Albanian frontiers of 1913, as laid down by the Ambassadorial Conference of that year, which convened for the purpose of averting a European conflagration that would have been precipitated by the unsettled Albanian question. This agreement specifically provides that the province of Scutari, claimed by the Serbs, and those of Koritza and Arghyrocastro, claimed by Greece, shall be definitely assigned to Albania. Unfortunately, the agreement leaves unsettled the question as to what shall become of the 1,500,000 Albanians that are left outside of the established frontiers of 1913; those frontiers bar out the province of Chameria, held by Greece, and the still greater provinces of Kossovo and Dibra, now occupied and terrorized by the Serbians. The inhabitants of these provinces, who desire union with their mother-country, Albania, are petitioning the League of Nations to take care of them; their fate seems to stretch into an anxious future.

What was the motive of the powers in finally interesting themselves in Albania by agreeing on her frontiers? The fact is that the powers have convinced themselves that the fears referred to above are baseless. The Albanian people did not disintegrate nor did the Albanian Government collapse. On the contrary, it has been proved that the people and Government of Albania have evidenced the strongest proofs of national cohesion and loyalty.

My personal observations in Albania may be summarized as follows: In the first place, the Government has established its authority. Never before in all her thirty centuries of existence has Albania enjoyed so much order and tranquillity as at the present time, with the possible exception of the period of the Pax Romana, when Albania was a proud self-governing province of the Roman Empire, to which she contributed six Emperors, eminent among whom were Constantine the Great and Diocletian the Organizer. The habit of bearing arms and the addiction to feuds have completely disappeared. One's life is safer today in Albania, whether in a crowded town or on a lonely highway, than in any other country in the Balkans. Rapine, murders, hold-ups, are things of the past. In the second place, the Government is so secure in its support of the great majority of the people that it is not hesitating to use the rod for its recalcitrant children, spoiled by generations of misrule and favoritism. The province of Mirdita, to mention one case, thought of getting off scot free of taxes, as it did under the Turkish Government. Mirdita was subdued in less than one night. In the third place, the Government has now at its disposal regular armed forces that are in control of every district. Even the latest foreign conquerors did not attempt to extend their control so far.

The foundations of the present Government were laid down by the Convention of Lushnja, to which I

referred above. It was decided at that time that the governmental authority should be lodged in three distinct but correlative bodies. First in rank comes the Regency Council—composed of two Christians and two Moslems—which takes the place of the Chief Executive; its authority is not very wide. The second body is the Council of Ministers, or Cabinet, composed of the departmental heads of the Government; it is responsible to all intents and purposes to the third body, the Parliament. The Parliament consists of seventy-two members, forming one chamber and elected by the people. The Cabinet is in reality the body that wields the executive power, subject, of course, to the dictates of Parliament and to the exigencies of the party system. There are two well-defined parties, the Progressive and the Popular, with a third group of shifty Independents; but it may be safely said that the parties will have to undergo a new alignment in the very near future. The present Cabinet is headed by the former Premier, Ilias Vrioni, a descendant of one of the oldest families of Albania; it is a coalition Ministry, the two chief parties being almost equal in numerical strength.

As to the future form of government, there are two or three plans in the air; but if the question were put to the people, say in the form of a plebiscite, the verdict would be in favor of a limited constitutional monarchy headed by a Prince who is not a national of any Power having interests in Albania. The reason for such a regime is obvious. The country is surrounded by older States that cling

still to the monarchical system, such a system being the tradition as well as the practice of the Balkan States. Consequently, an Albanian Republic would be the constant object of insidious intrigues on the part of the more powerful monarchical neighbors. Aside from that, there are some other reasons just as important.

A word now about the economic and financial outlook of Albania. Those who hoped that her standing as a separate nation might be jeopardized by her apparent poverty have ample reason at present to be disillusioned. Albania is the only country without any national debt, and the only one that stands on a gold basis. Every business deal is transacted in gold, from those of the public treasury to those in the humblest hamlet. The people have settled down, and prosperity has set in. The long-deserted fields are being carefully cultivated. Furthermore, the country is very rich in all kinds of mineral resources. Oil is plentiful, and the Anglo-Persian Company's agents are at Tirana endeavoring to get control of the oil fields. Another British firm has obtained the tobacco concession. Yet, Albania is still waiting for American capital to develop her resources. She needs railroads, wharves, docks, piers, warehouses, to render feasible the exploitation of her coal, iron, copper and other kinds of mines. Now that order is prevailing throughout the country and the Government is strong enough to assure liberty, safety of property and the pursuit of happiness, proper means are needed to provide for inner reconstruction.

AFGHANISTAN AT THE CROSS-ROADS

BY CLAIR PRICE

Semi-independent State on the northwest frontier of India, long a bone of contention between Russia and Great Britain, is free of both for the moment—Its next moves important for the Middle East

FEW countries in the world are at once as generally unknown and as politically important as is Afghanistan today. Little heed has been paid of late—indeed, little American heed has ever been paid—to this wild, mountainous country of the northwest frontier of India; but yesterday it occasioned the hurried signature of the Anglo-Russian Trade Agreement in London, and today, by reason of the Greco-Turkish War, it constitutes an increasing embarrassment to the British Government of India. Near and Middle Eastern affairs, with their seemingly endless ramifications, are not easy to understand, but an understanding of the entirely new situation which obtains in Afghanistan as a result of the war may shed a deal of light into these dark areas of world politics. For the history of the Near and Middle East during the next few years now pivots largely upon Afghanistan.

Before the war Afghanistan was a political appendage to the Government of India, Russia having abandoned it to the British in the famous Anglo-Russian Treaty of 1907; but the new Russian Government abrogated the 1907 Treaty in 1918, and with London's concurrence in Moscow's abrogation Afghanistan automatically became "officially free and independent, both internally and externally." And on Feb. 28, 1921, the newly independent Afghan Government signed a Russo-Afghan Treaty

at Moscow providing for a Russian subsidy for its Amir, for five Russian Consulates within its frontiers, and for a number of other arrangements to Russia's advantage, of such a startling nature as before the war would have brought any dead Viceroy of India up from his grave at once. The result was that the British Government hurriedly executed an about-face in its attitude toward the Russian Trade Delegation in London, and on March 16 Sir Robert Horne finally affixed his signature to the long pending Anglo-Russian Trade Agreement, at the same time handing to Mr. Krassin a peremptory note from Lord Curzon demanding the immediate discontinuance of Russian propaganda in Afghanistan.

Having put an end to the Russo-Afghan Treaty, the Government of India now sought to elaborate an Anglo-Afghan Treaty in succession to the old arrangements with Afghanistan which had been automatically brought to an end by the abrogation of the Anglo-Russian Treaty of 1907. Accordingly, Sir Henry Dobbs, C. I. E., was dispatched to the Afghan capital of Kabul last Spring with a suitable mission to conduct negotiations with the Amir. But events elsewhere have thus far frustrated the efforts of the Dobbs Mission, and up to the middle of August its negotiations were still hanging fire, while all the fierce nationalism of Afghanistan was concentrated on the maintenance of its new independence.

These "events elsewhere" take in the entire Near and Middle East in their scope, and a brief survey of them may prove illuminating.

The various tribes which make up Afghanistan's 5,000,000 population are overwhelmingly Moslem, and are of the Sunni sect of Islam, which may be roughly likened to the Catholics of Christianity, just as the smaller Shi'ah sect may be called the Protestants of Islam. The Moslems of Bokhara and Khiva to the north of Afghanistan are likewise of the Sunni sect, and the 60,000,000 Moslems of India to the south are also Sunnis; indeed, the Moslems of India are the great driving force of Islam today. To the west of Afghanistan, the Moslems of Persia are Shi'ahs and are not the sturdy fighters their Sunni brethren are; doubtless the Afghans could overrun Persia if they cared to. Further to the west the Turks and Arabs alike are Sunnis, and both are strong fighting

forces, but at present are quite alienated from each other by the long Arab revolt against Turkish rule. The Turks, the Tartars of the Caucasus and Turkestan, the Afghans and the great Moslem community of India, then, are all of the Sunni sect, whose Caliph is the Turkish Sultan and whose sacred law provides that the Caliph shall be an independent sovereign wielding an effective guardianship over the great Moslem holy places at Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem.

The war, however, has made the Turkish Caliph virtually a prisoner of the British in Constantinople, and has taken Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem away from him, Mecca and Medina now being held by the independent King of the Hedjaz, who is subsidized by the British, and Jerusalem being held by the British themselves. This new state of affairs has been bitterly resented by all of Sunni Islam (except the Arabs) as a destruction of its most sacred institutions, and as a result Afghanistan has been greatly inflamed against the British Government of India. The Afghan Mission which negotiated the Russo-Afghan treaty in Moscow—a Mission headed by the same Mohammed Wali Khan who recently visited Washington—had no sooner affixed its signatures to that treaty than it hastened to Angora in Turkey and last April signed a Turco-Afghan treaty of close alliance against "any alien imperialism," which presumably means the British Empire. Of this treaty only an official summary has been given out, and the essential point in the text of that summary is a recognition of the Turkish Caliphate on the part of Afghanistan.

In the meantime the Amir of Afghanistan had received



MAP OF AFGHANISTAN SHOWING THE LOCATION OF THAT MUCH-DISPUTED COUNTRY IN RELATION TO INDIA, PERSIA AND RUSSIA

at Kabul Djemal Pasha, who, with Enver Pasha and the late Talaat Pasha, was one of Turkey's ruling triumvirate during the war, and had made him Minister of War in the Afghan Cabinet. Djemal Pasha had founded an Afghan Military College at Kabul and had imported forty Turkish officers from Angora to whip the Afghan regular army into shape. The Government of India's plan to extend its military railway from Jamrud up through the famous Khyber Pass to the Afghan frontier posts was interpreted at Kabul as a menace to Afghanistan's new independence, and its announcement was followed by the erection of hill redoubts overlooking the Afghan end of the Khyber and the training of Afghan mountain batteries to man them. This brought a new unrest into the tribes along the northwest frontier of India, the control of which has long been one of the Government of India's most difficult tasks.

Into this situation along the northwest frontier news of the recent Greek advances into Asia Minor has brought further unrest, and the farther the Greeks advanced (with British aid, Islam believes) the more

turbulent the northwest frontier became. This has continued until today Afghanistan is talking openly of invading India, and Mr. Gandhi, the great Hindu leader of India's peaceful boycott of the British, has been compelled to use all his influence with his explosive Moslem minority to prevent the use of the Afghan army against the British in India and to keep the boycott in the ways of peace.

Meanwhile Afghanistan has been making use of its independence to put its own house in order, and the Amir on June 18 last proclaimed his first Code of Criminal Law, a move which constitutes Afghanistan's first step toward constitutional Government. Should it continue to adjust itself to the march of Western civilization, Afghanistan should yet prove to be one of the strongest of the smaller States in Asia. Before the war it was locked in the vise-like grip of the Anglo-Russian Treaty of 1907, but today its opportunity to work out its own destinies has come. And for the next few years the history of the great tangled area between the Bosphorus and Bengal Bay will pivot largely upon the uses that Afghanistan makes of this new opportunity.

PERSIA'S TRADE ASPIRATIONS

THE Persian Minister to the United States, Sadigh es Saltaneh, shortly before his recent transfer from Washington to Madrid, delivered before the American Manufacturers' Association an address in which he outlined the trade policy and aims of the new Persian Government. The principal exports of Persia, he explained, are carpets, shawls and other products of cotton, wool and silk; in return she desires various American manufactures, especially cottons, hardware, machinery and other things of iron and steel. "Persia," he continued, "has an area three times larger than France, yet most of the land remains

untilled. Our extensive forests in the north and west are scarcely touched. Our mines are still virgin. Our vast water power, one of the richest sources of energy, has only begun to be developed. What we need is the assistance of capital, and we will gladly welcome the enterprise of business men and the help of competent financiers. * * * We have always been in favor of the open door, and are keenly desirous of improving and establishing direct commercial relations—unalloyed by political ambitions—with all the nations of the world, and especially with wealthy, energetic and capable America."

SUICIDE A LA MODE IN JAPAN

BY NANCY VIRGINIA AUSTEN

Who has lived twelve years in Japan

*An interesting account of the amazing fashion of suicide in Japan, the strange forms and places chosen for the act, and the wide difference between Oriental and Occidental ideas of death—
What one devoted Japanese woman is doing to change the fashion*

IN Japan the rule of doing things the opposite way to ours holds in suicide as in all things else. The Occidental punishes an enemy by stabbing him to death. A Japanese stabs himself, often killing himself at his enemy's gate for revenge. He kills himself as a protest against an injury he has suffered. He kills himself to emphasize some utterance. He kills himself to reform his superior. He kills himself to apologize for some mistake. Sometimes, in the Occident, men threaten the life of an employer in order to secure their demands. In the topsy-turvy East they threaten to take their own lives in order to bring things around their way. In our land jealous husbands or wives have been known to kill an offender. In Japan the lovers take their own lives that they may be united in the future existence. This form of double suicide is called "shinju" (love suicide).

In the Island Empire across the Pacific everything is done according to ancient rules—rules which even would-be suicides may not ignore. If a man has insulted another or caused grave injury through some stupid blunder, suicide, according to the ancient customs, is the only proper course for him; and he would "queer himself," "lose face," as we say over there, were he to neglect its observance. On the other hand, if one

wishes to make amends for some carelessness or wrong deed, one may claim the privilege of suicide.

"Hara-kiri" as a method of suicide has been in vogue since antiquity. Although the word hara-kiri may have a sound of mysterious dignity in Western ears, the meaning is very prosaic when translated into English. The literal meaning is "belly cutting." The Japanese have a fashion of using Chinese words to express rude or unpleasant things, in the same way that we use Latin and French words, so they usually refer to hara-kiri by the high-sounding Chinese name, "seppuku," as we use the word abdomen instead of the plain Anglo-Saxon word. The act consists in drawing a sharp dirk across the abdomen. In the days when hara-kiri enjoyed an official status, the head was severed immediately afterward by a friend, or, in case of political offenders, by an official.

ORIGIN OF "HARA-KIRI"

In tracing this custom of hara-kiri back to its source, we find that it gained its greatest popularity in the old days when Japan was torn by rebellions and counter-rebellions. Each territorial chief, or daimyo, entrenched himself with his retainers against invasion from a neighboring

daimyo. First one, then the other was successful. The victor always tried to insure the safety of his reign by beheading those who had fought against him, and in order to make the death of these political rivals less distasteful, the custom of hara-kiri was called into use.

Solemn ceremonies were devised to give a show of dignity to the condemned warriors, or Samurai, as they were called. The rules governing hara-kiri were both elaborate and exact, everything being done according to rigid form. Nothing new was added; nothing old was omitted. The place for the performance was prepared in the same strict way. Those of the highest rank were permitted to perform hara-kiri in the house; all others must use the garden. But whether the ceremony took place in the house or in the garden, it was governed by the same fixed rules. Each implement was used according to the set regulations; every step taken was according to the proper rules. The man to sever the head, the one to hand the sword to the principal, each actor in the scene was there in the proper place, according to the approved rules of hara-kiri.

A Japanese learns from childhood up to respect hara-kiri. He learns it at school in his history and ethics lessons. He learns it at home from his parents. He learns it on the streets from wandering story tellers. He learns it from the praise of hara-kiri which he reads in the newspapers and books. He learns it in the temples where he goes to worship Japanese heroes, some of whom have been deified because they avenged their lords through hara-kiri. Suicide by this method is looked upon as an honorable way to avenge one's self, to denounce an enemy, to apologize for a wrong done, or to escape difficulties in general. It is merely one way of starting out upon the long journey to the next existence. A Japanese looks upon this life as one form of his many existences; the next may be better or

worse than this one. If he deserves it, he may be reborn in a much happier sphere; or if unworthy in this life, his spirit may have an unfortunate habitation in the next.

In Japan there are few lives of ease and perfect happiness. Living means struggle and sacrifice for the big majority of the common people, especially for the women, whom we have come to consider the happiest people on earth because they smile under every circumstance. Since living in Japan I have learned that a smile often covers the saddest heart. The doctrine of keeping one's troubles in the background is worthy of emulation, but when carried to the extreme, as in Japan, it causes others to say as we do of the Japanese, "They are never unhappy."

In the thickly populated little kingdom of Nippon a human life is not considered of such importance that one less is taken as sufficient cause for extensive comment in the newspapers or anywhere else. And since 1869, when a motion was introduced into the Japanese Diet to abolish hara-kiri, it has held its place against the new Western fashions creeping into the Japanese life. For at that time only three voted for the motion; two hundred voted against it and six did not vote; thus was it settled that hara-kiri was a Japanese institution reflecting great glory upon the country; that it was a custom both desirable and indispensable; that it was one of the distinctly Japanese customs not to be uprooted. So it has remained. While it does not have the same official place that it had in the days of feudalism, still it exists as a voluntary means of redress, of sacrifice, or of escape from the worries of the world.

TYPICAL INSTANCES

I remember an occasion a few years ago when a stationmaster of the Government railway committed hara-kiri because the Emperor's special train was delayed a few minutes by

a misunderstanding on the part of an official. There had been no accident. There had been no injury—except to the stationmaster's pride. However, the stationmaster thought the only suitable apology he could make for the slight delay to the imperial train would be to perform hara-kiri; so he did. And as far as I could discover there was not a Japanese who disagreed with that view.

Last January a Japanese sentry while on police duty in Vladivostok shot Lieutenant Warren Langdon of the United States cruiser Albany. The sentry was absolved from blame, as it was discovered that his superior officer had not been explicit in giving directions. It was reported that the superior officer had committed suicide—which would in truth have been according to Japanese etiquette. But, so far as I know, that rumor has not been confirmed. The latest news is that the sentry has taken upon his own sword the duty of making apology in the usual way. Knightly sentiments are not confined to the Samurai, but often dwell in the hearts of the lowliest. To those who know Japan, it would seem quite in keeping for one of the humblest subjects in the empire of the Sun Goddess to make atonement by the honored custom of hara-kiri.

The case of General Count Nogi and Countess Nogi, who committed hara-kiri at the time of the death of the Emperor, Meiji, in 1912, attracted world-wide attention at that time. The General could not bear to see his Emperor go to the next life with no attendant; so he made preparations and, quietly, accompanied by his faithful wife, went to his Emperor's side. The act was hailed as most beautiful and fitting. Through the breadth of the land the memory of the faithful couple is held in a reverence but little short of worship. After the passing of a few generations General Nogi's name will doubtless be numbered among the thousands of deities worshipped in Japan.

PRECEDENT AND LEGEND

The national story of the forty-seven Ronin still exercises a powerful influence upon the people of Japan. In 1701 Asano, Lord of Ako, having been insulted by a nobleman named Kira, quarreled with him in the palace court. As a private quarrel inside the precincts of the palace was a crime punishable by death, Asano was ordered to perform hara-kiri. His family was disgraced and his clan ordered to scatter. His retainers, forty-seven in number, pledged themselves to live for the sole aim of avenging their master. They waited vigilantly two years for the completion of their plans. When all was ready they entered Kira's mansion and ordered him to perform hara-kiri. Coward that he was, he refused to take the sword, so they cut his head off. They carried his head in a solemn procession across Tokio to the grave of Asano. Placing the head before the tomb of their master, they declared their vow fulfilled. That evening the forty-seven committed hara-kiri; they were buried by the side of Asano.

The plot of ground containing the graves of Asano and his forty-seven faithful retainers is a popular resort for pilgrims, who throng to the temple to worship the devoted heroes. Many times have I taken visitors to the tombs of the forty-seven Ronin on the edge of Tokio, but I have yet to see the time when the simple grave-stones had no burning incense, or no pilgrims bowing a mute tribute to "faithfulness," the virtue most exalted in Japan. The deed of these forty-seven men is one of the most popular subjects for songs, stories and plays. A theatre is always full when the play is the story of the forty-seven Ronin.

In Japan one often sees a venerable old tree enclosed by a bamboo fence and having a straw rope tied around its gnarled trunk. Such trees are sacred and are worshipped for one

reason or another. The following story shows how the worship of a fine old tree in Southern Japan originated: One day long ago a man committed suicide by hanging himself from a sturdy limb of this tree. Soon after that another man did the same thing; then another and another, until that tree became a favorite place for committing suicide. Suicide then, as now, was nothing unusual, but there was an inquiry into the reason why that one tree was the instrument selected by so many. So the sage old men of the village decided that evil spirits dwelt in the tree and lured men on to take their lives. Therefore, a meeting of all the men of the village was called to decide on some means of defense against the evil spirits.

The old men held the belief that offerings should be made to the tree spirits to placate their wrath and to gain their favor. The young men said the wiser plan would be to cut the tree down and burn it. At this suggestion the older men held up their hands in horror. "Such a course would bring calamity on the whole village," they gasped. The young men, less superstitious and less faithful to the gods, held firmly to their decision, and, perhaps because they were more numerous, carried the day.

Preparations were made to destroy the tree. But here a difficulty developed—no one could be found willing to cut the tree. Though the young men were brave enough to laugh at the evil spirits, yet when it came to taking an axe in hand and actually cutting the tree, each was loath to take upon himself the honor. Finally two of the most daring stepped out with axes and struck two resounding blows. O horror! no sooner had the axes touched the tree—so the legend goes—than blood gushed forth! The two daring young men dropped their axes and fled in terror. The whole assemblage dropped to their knees and besought the spirits to spare their lives. Ever afterward the vil-

lagers were faithful in placing their offerings before the sacred tree.

FASHIONS IN SUICIDE

This story illustrates the fact that there are fashions in Japanese suicide as in everything else. The saying that "misery loves company" holds true in Japan, even if the English proverb is unknown. When a Japanese has reached the state of despondency or some other emotion which urges suicide, he usually seeks a spot where others have taken the same step.

A few years ago the wheel of fashion in its turning rested upon the high portico of a temple in Kyoto, a temple dedicated to the goddess of mercy. This temple, called Kiyomizudera, is built upon high piles on the side of a hill, in a most beautiful setting. Cherry, maple, plum and evergreen trees almost hide it. From its portico one can see the valley below with its restless masses. The railing is very low, and it is quite easy just to step over—and know the ills of life no more.

But the wheel of fashion never remains long in one position, and in this case it shifted popularity from Kiyomizudera to the crater of the active volcano, Mt. Asama. You may be sure it takes grim determination to climb to the top of the long slope of the rumbling, smoking Asama Yama, and then to jump into its sulphurous, fiery depths. But a Japanese would not let a thing like that stand in his way once his mind is made up; so many a weary soul toiled up the ash-covered side of Mt. Asama with suicide as the only reward in view—until the considerate fashion wheel took another turn. This time it led to a more accessible place—a lake near Kobe. The authorities took a hand there; soon they had the lake drained and the would-be suicides had to seek another refuge.

This time they did not go far in their search; Suma, a beautiful suburb of Kobe, became the favorite place for this strange fad. The mag-

nificent ocean, rolling in, splashed with rainbow colors; green-clad cliffs rearing their heads far above the beating waves; giant pines throwing out their arms in a spirit of protection—these make Suma a welcome spot to the living and to the spirits of those who have lived. For awhile suicide was almost a daily occurrence at Suma.

Then fickle fashion turned and favored the north. Chuzenji is a beautiful mountain lake near the temple city Nikko-Nikko, which the Japanese say one must see before one can say "beautiful." Lake Chuzenji drains itself in a single outlet which pours over a high perpendicular cliff in an exquisitely beautiful waterfall named Kego, falling in one magnificent sheet for 250 feet. The spray leaps up like billowy clouds of the softest chiffon. Is it any wonder that the romantic Japanese saw a fitting end to life in Kego's whirling spray? So many of them leaped over the cliff into Kego that the Government set a police guard at the top of the alluring falls, and thus stopped suicide there.

Since the beauty spots of their land seemed denied them, the would-be suicides turned to the prosaic trains as a last resort. The despondent one would station himself at a sharp curve in the railway track and jump in front of an express train as it flashed around the curve. Before the engineer could stop the train all would be over for one earthly life.

A sharp curve near Kobe became the scene of so many suicides that last year Mrs. Jo, a Christian woman of Kobe, devised a plan for helping her discouraged countrymen who sought an untimely end for life. She erected a huge sign at the spot which had become the one favored for the death jump. In arriving at the short curve, one is startled by the words of this immense sign, standing out in bold, black characters: "Stop a minute! If you feel that you must take your life, go to see Mrs. Jo at the

Woman's Welfare Association." Strong electric lights make the sign plainly visible at night.

A dramatic, imaginative Japanese, confronted suddenly by this spectacular sign, pauses and sits down on a stone to think things over. "Could this Mrs. Jo have any possible help for me?" he asks himself. Then with a sheepish glance at the railway track, as if to plead its silence, he turns and wanders thoughtfully to Mrs. Jo's address given on the sign. Mrs. Jo probably persuades him that he can do his duty a while longer by living. He has no fear of death, which to him is merely passing from one state of existence to another; but why pass on to the next if he can hold on to the present a little longer! If the little woman can give him a new reason for continuing the life struggle he bows low to her, touching his head to the floor, it may be, in his appreciation of her interest, and then marches out to face the world once more, victory already half won by his jaunty air of self-assurance as he takes up again the grimmest thing in Japan—life.

The newspapers gave Mrs. Jo's plan wide publicity; and in less than six months' time 160 Japanese have been saved from suicide by reading that sign. This unassuming woman has become the mother confessor for all Japan. Women discouraged and tempted to end life write to her for advice; she has helped hundreds by such letters. Word has spread that there is a woman in Kobe who can bring hope out of the darkest situation; that she can solve any problem of life, no matter how complex or impossible it may seem. And no one knows how far-reaching her work may yet become. She may yet be able to make the Japanese see that it is more glorious to live for a cause than to die for it; that suicide as an apology or as an escape from trials shows weakness, not strength. Less things than her faith have more than once changed the course of human events.

CHINA, CAPTIVE OR FREE?

[An Analysis of Gilbert Reid's Latest Work]

BY JESSE WILLIS JEFFERIS

How China's aid of the Allies in the World War has resulted in her betrayal into the grip of Japan—Internal chaos fostered by Japan to keep a vast empire in subjection—A worse oppressor than Germany

THE fact that America has refused to be bound by treaty agreements relating to the award of Shantung to Japan—a vital subject of controversy to be discussed at the Disarmament Conference—renders Gilbert Reid's "China, Captive or Free?" especially timely. This notable contribution to the literature bearing on Far Eastern questions, just issued from the press of Dodd, Mead & Co., is the most complete discussion of China's foreign entanglements and the attempts at her enslavement which has yet been published. The volume might well be used as a handbook by the representatives of the great powers at the Disarmament Conference in November, for it "divulges acts hitherto kept secret and brings more clearly to light many facts which bear on a correct understanding of the East and of the West."

That Great Britain and America are chiefly responsible for China's entrance into the war—a step which has resulted in enabling Japan to secure a stranglehold on the "Flowery Kingdom"—is the conclusion which Dr. Reid has reached and substantiated by his revelation of diplomatic dealings that are decidedly dubious and utterly unjustifiable.

The author holds that no amount of persuasion on the part of the Allies could have induced China to enter the war, as she had no more grudge against the Central Powers than that which she felt toward other imperial-

istic Governments. Trustfully she obeyed the behest of her traditional friend, America, upon whom she depended and still depends to rescue her from the encroachments of her exploiters. Little did China dream that, as a consequence of her entrance into the war, the nation would be torn by warring factions and rival capitals would be established at Peking and at Canton—the former representing militarism and autocracy; the latter the home of liberalism and democracy.

As director of the International Institute of China, Gilbert Reid has held a position unique among those who have recorded their impressions of the most densely populated and perhaps most fascinating country in the world. The object of this institute is to promote friendship and harmony in the relations between China and other countries, and also between adherents of different religions. This has enabled him to secure a comprehensive survey of China's activities. American readers are already familiar with his "Glances at China," published in 1890, and "Sources of Anti-Foreign Disturbances in China," 1893. He has also produced six books in Chinese, an achievement which demands an intimacy with the life and language of the Mongolian race both comprehensive and profound.

Even the casual reader of "China, Captive or Free?" must confess that the author is a man uncompromising-

ly true to his convictions. "Out of love for China," he writes, "I was made to suffer, not only for China, but with China; undergoing some tragic, amusing and puerile persecutions from the great diplomats of four legations—British, French, Japanese and even American—while the United States Constitution and the Sermon on the Mount both slumbered and slept. The contact of European civilization with the peoples of Asia, Africa and the American continents makes sad reading for the man of justice. As to the country of China, with a long record of civilization, statecraft, philosophy, art and religion, the question arises, Has China been blessed or cursed by Western civilization?"

Great Britain's recent attempt to gain control of South China's coal supply is exceeded, according to Dr. Reid, in shameless effrontery and greed only by Japan's daily tightening death-grip on the province of Shantung. The author contends that what Germany had in Shantung was certain "rights" which were granted to her by China and by China alone. These rights, moreover, were determined by a treaty drawn between the two Governments of China and Germany, and by the action of no other Government. According to the terms of the grant, the rights acquired by Germany were unassignable and non-transferable.

Gilbert Reid is convinced that there was no excuse whatever for extending the war to the Far East, as the German fleet had sailed from Tsing-tao, leaving only a handful of troops which were in no sense a menace to China or to any of the Allies. The calamities which the war has brought upon China, and the spoils which Japan has thereby appropriated, are the principal factors which now threaten the peace of the world, and have rendered necessary the calling of the Disarmament Conference. According to Marquis Okuma, the war afforded Japan "the one opportunity of ten thousand years."

Especially significant is the author's contention that Japan entered the war only upon the earnest request of her ally, Great Britain. In a speech before the Diet, Baron Kato, Minister of Foreign Affairs, said: "The British Government has asked the Imperial Government of Japan for assistance under the terms of the Anglo-Japanese alliance. We could not but comply to the request to do our part. The Japanese Government, therefore, resolved to open hostilities against Germany." In a truly technical sense, Japan was the only ally which Great Britain had. The relations of Great Britain to France and Russia were those of an entente cordiale.

CHINA COERCED BY JAPAN.

Japan occupied Shantung and thus held a dagger over the heart of the Chinese Nation. The Japanese Minister in Peking, only two short months later, presented to President Yuan Shih-kai an official document now notorious as "The Twenty-one Demands," which are almost a duplicate of the demand made on the Emperor of Korea prior to the absorption of that country by Japan. In order to put this deal through without molestation on the part of other Governments, the Japanese Minister insisted upon absolute secrecy. These demands confirmed Japan's claim to German rights in Shantung, enlarged and prolonged the Japanese hold on rights acquired in Southern Manchuria and Eastern Mongolia, sought control of China's greatest industrial enterprise, the Hanyehping Company, with a share in the product of mines; set forth the obligation on the part of China to lease no more harbors or islands on the Chinese coast, except to Japan; insisted on special railway concessions in the Yangtse Valley and on recognition of Japan's priority in Fukien Province, and gave Japan a degree of authority over the internal and political affairs of China, undermining her sovereignty.

The United States Government immediately challenged this piece of diplomatic effrontery by dispatching an identical note to both China and Japan, refusing to recognize any agreement which had been entered into, or which might, in the future, be entered into, between the Governments of Japan and China, impairing the treaty rights of the United States and its citizens in China, the political or territorial integrity of the Republic of China, or the international policy relative to China, commonly known as the "Open Door," a stand recently reiterated by Secretary of State Hughes.

China naturally supposed that her entrance into the war would afford her the chance, not only of terminating her treaties with Germany, but also of nullifying her agreements with Japan. She did not know that the European allies were at the same time conniving with Japan, *unknown to China or to the United States*, that what China hoped to get from her foreign exploiters would all pass to Japan, her most pestiferous neighbor, who, according to the Lansing-Ishii note, was granted special rights in China on account of propinquity.

Apologists find a reasonable explanation for Japan's conduct in the fact that the Japanese people have been Christianized for a period of only sixty years, while Europe has received Christian teaching for 2,000 years. As evidence of the very thin veneer of Christianity which covers the diplomatic relations of such a highly civilized country as Great Britain, it is interesting to note that only two years after Japan had pressed her twenty-one demands the British Government presented twelve demands, evidently fearing that in the scramble she would lose some available spoils, which would be wholly contrary to her traditional foreign policy. Great Britain secured from prostrate China the right to construct railways between India and Tibet, the privilege of making loans, thus mortgaging Chinese re-

sources; the use of British experts for industrial enterprises, the establishment of telegraph lines and postal service, and, most modest of all, a demand that *China shall not interfere with the actions of the British Government in Tibet*.

In no regard did China's entrance into the war so seriously affect her welfare as in the resulting reign of military autocracy and the almost complete overthrow of her democratic system of government. Never under the Chinese, Manchu or Mongol monarchies, where the literati ruled, was there anything like the militarism which was ushered in upon China's entrance into the war, and which has been perpetuated by the Tutchuns or Military Governors of the provinces, with the result that Dr. Sun Yat-sen, President of the Republic of South China, and most of the Chinese liberals have seceded from the Peking Government and are now bravely fighting the battle for democracy against an apparently hostile world. Unless these liberals are represented at the Disarmament Conference, the author believes, it will be far better for President Harding to call it off and continue to wink at the autocratic-militaristic Government in Peking, and also at the imperialism of both Great Britain and Japan.

JAPAN WORSE THAN GERMANY

China's need has been Japan's opportunity. For a paltry \$15,000,000 China signed away a lien on all her forests in the two northern provinces of Heilungkiang and Kirin, about equal in extent to the combined area of all the States of America along the Atlantic seaboard. To secure funds China has also been compelled to mortgage railway lines, gold, coal, antimony and iron mines. She has even mortgaged the Government Printing Office at Peking and the Hankow electric light and water works.

According to Professor John Dewey, who has recently toured Shantung Province, the Chinese would be

much happier with the Germans in control than they are at present on account of the indignities which they suffer from Japanese officials, who are extending further and further the boundaries of their political and commercial influence and control. Professor Dewey says:

The Germans employed Chinese exclusively in the railroad shops and for all minor positions. The railway guards were all Chinese, the Germans merely training them, but when Japan invaded Shantung and took over the railways Chinese workmen and Chinese military guards were at once dismissed and Japanese imported to take their places. At an hour's notice Japan could cut off communications between Southern China and the capital, and, with the aid of the Southern Manchurian railway, at the north of the capital, hold the entire coast and descend at its good pleasure upon Peking.

With this view Herbert Adams Gibbons, author of "The New Map of Asia," is in perfect accord. "The Germans," he says, "were not oppressive masters of the natives within the leased territory. Their control led to improved sanitary conditions and to economic prosperity. Germany did not follow the tactics of Russia and Japan in using the railway concession as a means of permanent military control."

F. Anderson, Chairman of the China Association, further confirms the convictions of these writers in his annual message, dated July 17, 1920. "The Japanese administration of Shantung," he says, "is worse than the German. There were only about 500 Germans resident in Tsing-tao, all of whom were officials or leaders; there are now over 35,000 Japanese residents."

An offense to Japan and, unfortunately, also to China was the rejection by the "Big Three" at Paris of the clause which the Japanese desired to have introduced, endorsing the principle of "the equality of nations and the just treatment of their nationals." Gilbert Reid explains in some detail that what Japan demanded was not a recognition of race equality, but the abolishing of the discrim-

ination provided by immigration laws or the like against any inhabitant of Japan on account of race. "This was an eminently fair proposal, prudently and moderately phrased," says Mr. Reid. "The Japanese laid great stress upon its adoption. It was heartily supported by the Chinese, for China and Japan are the only two countries of the world which are discriminated against merely because of nationality or race. Even when the principle was rejected the Japanese reserved the right to bring it up at some future time." It is within the range of possibilities that they will fight it out at the Disarmament Conference.

WHAT CHINA WANTS

China still hopes that at the Washington Conference the United States will back her in declaring that foreign powers neither legitimately possess, nor have a right to claim, spheres of influence and special interests in the "Flowery Kingdom"; also that all treaties, agreements, notes and contracts must be revised, including the right of extraterritoriality, so that the domination of Great Britain, Japan, France, Russia and other intruders may cease. America will be able to take this stand consistently, as she is the only one of the great powers, except Germany, which does not have some kind of hold on Chinese soil.

China may also insist upon the withdrawal of all foreign troops and police, the abolishment of foreign post offices, and the right to fix her own tariffs. "All these," writes Dr. Reid, "are just requests." And there is no doubt that if Great Britain, France and the United States insist upon the restoration of China's rights, Japan must yield. "The concessions made at the Peace Conference were unjust to China, and should never have been enacted," said President Wilson; "they were all exacted by duress from a great body of thoughtful, ancient and helpless people. There never was any right in any of

them. Thank God, America never asked for any, never dreamed of asking for any."

The casual student of the Far Eastern question naturally asks: "Why does not China, the most populous country in the world, arm and defend herself against foreign encroachments?" But the diplomatic policy of her oppressors has been to rule through disunion, which largely accounts for the present political cleavage between North and South China and the independence of the military Governors, rendering centralized control impossible. Also, as Gilbert Reid points out, if China should begin to spend millions on a vast army as a distinctly national movement, the Japanese, under existing conditions, would assume direction; or, in case of a navy, would wait until it became a valuable prize and then capture it. If China should join with Japan in a defensive and offensive military alliance, as is frequently urged by the Japanese Government, the development of China's military capacity under Japanese guidance would prove the menace of the future, the opening of the next world war.

Dr. Reid is also opposed to the International consortium headed by Thomas W. Lamont for financing China's resources and means of communication, on the ground that it is an exclusive scheme, Great Britain, France, Belgium, Japan and the United States being the only financial participants. In the second place it is an extraneous scheme, as China herself is not included, and thus her sovereignty is threatened. Accordingly, China prefers to form her own consortium.

The traditional policy of America is to keep hands off of China, and thus permit her to work out her own destiny. Surely the United States, which did not possess a clear title to any territory bordering on the Pacific Ocean until 1846, has no moral right to claim the supremacy of the Pacific

over nations which have occupied a vast territory on that ocean for more than 2,000 years.

THE PATH TO PEACE

We cannot claim for ourselves in Asia any social or political rights which we are unwilling to grant the Asiatics in America. As Herbert Adams Gibbons writes in his "New Map of Asia": "If we Americans and Europeans expect to keep Asiatics out of our continents and out of Africa indefinitely, and at the same time pretend to superior political and commercial rights in Asia, we shall precipitate a great struggle that may have its repercussions in our own hemisphere. The 'Yellow Peril' is far from imaginary so long as Europe asserts the right to dominate and exploit Asia. But if we reconcile ourselves to treating Asiatics equitably in their own continent (they do not ask more than that), we shall not need to prepare for 'the next war' with Japan."

In his closing pages Dr. Reid urges America to be both considerate and conciliatory in her attitude toward those powers which have conflicting interests in China, and urges the gradual elimination of racial, religious and national discords that impede the progress of the human race. This also was the keynote of the addresses recently delivered before the Institute of Politics at Williams College, where both Lord Bryce and Elihu Root championed the cause of Universal Brotherhood. "The nations must learn to have kindly consideration for one another," said Mr. Root; "they must learn the art of mutual concession; they must become internationally minded. It is not what a nation does for itself, but what it does for humanity, that entitles it to honor. We must learn that, in God's good world, the way to attain the heights of prosperity is not to pull others down and climb over them, but to help one another up."

MANGLING ASIA MINOR

BY GEORGE R. MONTGOMERY

Director of the Armenia America Society

A brief account, with maps, of ten different treaties, all secret and many of them conflicting with each other, which the Entente Powers have made with a view to dividing up Turkey among themselves—Final settlement still in the balance

THE recent success of the Greeks in Asia Minor, and the growing indications that they are planning to hold at least part of what they have captured, will force the Western European Powers to reconsider the entire matter of territorial allotments and zones of influence in the Ottoman Empire. One very suggestive bit of evidence that the Greeks are planning to hold what they have captured is found in the fact that they have restored to the City of Kutahia its ancient name of Dorylos; it is so called in the press dispatches emanating from Smyrna and Athens. Moreover, the fact that on Aug. 10, 1921, the exact anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Sèvres, the Council of Premiers practically declared the treaty to be a dead letter, brings back out of the shadow all the previous agreements that have been made in the last seven years. These all become factors in any new deliberation as to protectorates and boundaries.

These many transient and conflicting agreements show to what an extent the present evils in Turkey are the result of rival and changing policies. The changes in European policy, due to rivalry and jealousy, have been particularly unfortunate for the native inhabitants of the country. Not the Christian populations alone but the Moslem populations also have suffered greatly, because the uncertainty permitted intrigue, and things could not settle down. Many of the

Christians and Moslems have been led to assume equivocal positions.

Had a definite policy been put into operation soon after the close of the war, all the elements would have acquiesced, nor would India have been stirred up. Possibly the uncertainty as to America's sharing in the task of reconstruction may have been a contributing cause for the delay in the adoption of a definite policy, but rivalry among the victorious Allies was the main cause. There was a period when the ambitions of Italy included even the Transcaucasus.

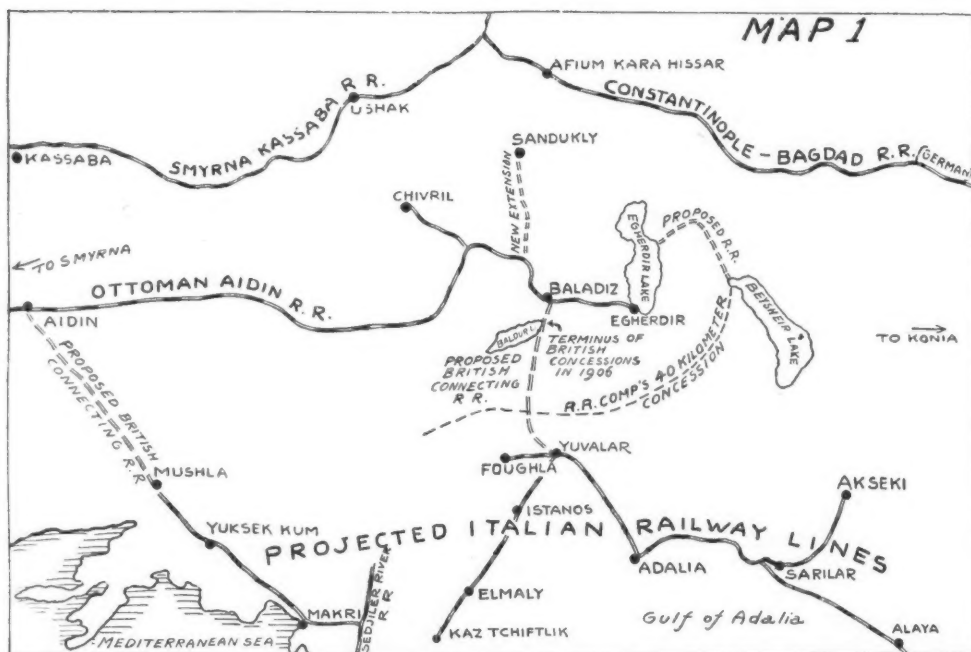
There is no doubt that at one time France had all her plans made to occupy Cilicia as an Armenian protectorate. Various reasons have been given for the unfortunate abandonment of that intention—lack of money and men, the objection of Italy, the desire to win the friendship of the Turks and thus head off the increasing British influence at Constantinople. As a result of negotiations between the French Government and the Armenian National Delegation in the Spring of 1918 France had promised to give autonomy to the Armenians in Cilicia; and when Georges Picot was sent out in April, 1917, to represent the French Government in its advance into Asia Minor, the following instructions were given to him: "In the coastal zone, which one day will be placed under our protectorate, your direction should have a more exclusive character, so as to give the population a clear intimation of the future

in store for them." This traditional policy of acquisition, of which the above instructions are an expression, is represented in certain of the secret international agreements. The divergence from this policy is represented in others; especially in the separate agreement proposed by France in March last and still under discussion. The vacillations must be appreciated for an understanding of the recent history of the Near East.

Mr. Picot carried out his instructions, and all the people of the coastal zone, as included in the Sykes-Picot Agreement, understood that France was to assume the protectorate over Cilicia, which was destined to be set apart for the Armenians. When, after the armistice, Picot was appointed High Commissioner at Beirut, he was named High Commissioner of Syria and Armenia. At a public banquet he offered a toast to Armenia. Colonel Bremond, who was appointed Governor of Cilicia, went from Paris as head of the Commission to Armenia. The other members of the

Commission to Armenia were distributed to executive posts in Cilicia. The baggage of the commission, when it arrived at Mersine, was marked "Armenia." The writing paper and the official blanks carried the heading "Armenia." The Armenian refugees were transported into Cilicia and even compelled to settle there. The first French army of occupation that went into Cilicia was called the Armenian Legion. The Armenian population of Aintab was forced to fight with the French against the Turks. By far the larger part of the local Moslem population of Cilicia took sides with the French against the Turks, supposing that the French were in the land to stay.

Then came the jealousy of the Greek success, the jealousy of the British, and the resulting pro-Turkish attitude, which brought about a decision to repudiate the Allies and make a secret and separate treaty with the revolutionary Turks under Mustapha Kemal. In Article 9 of the Sykes-



Map No. 1, showing details of the Italo-British convention of 1914, which gave Italy, France, Great Britain and Germany certain clearly defined railway concessions in Turkey. This was just before the war

Picot Agreement, the French had promised to make no concession of territory in the Blue Zone, which included Cilicia, without the previous consent of the British Government; but in this secret treaty with the Kemalists, France ceded an important part of the Blue Zone to the Nationalists without consulting the British.

The series of maps which accompanied the various treaties and agreements, all of them secret, will perhaps best exhibit the conflicting engagements and pledges that were made. These pledges dealt almost entirely with the Asiatic portions of the Ottoman Empire, because the priority rights of Greeks or Bulgars to the remnants of Turkey in Europe appear to have been recognized by the great powers. The claim of Russia also to Constantinople was recognized early in the war, but the defection of Russia, subsequent to the revolution there, altered that arrangement.

The first of these secret treaties

goes back to the Spring before the declaration of war and was called the Italo-British convention. We are in a position to publish details of this convention of 1914 and also the map that went with it. Nothing has been given out heretofore in any country in regard to this important agreement. It laid the foundation for many of the subsequent agreements and disagreements with respect to Near East settlements. This convention was made in the Spring of 1914 by Germany, Italy, Great Britain and Turkey. At that time Germany and Italy were allies, and Turkey was playing both ends against the middle. The negotiations were conducted in London directly with the British Foreign Office. The Ambassadors of Germany, Italy and Turkey represented their respective countries. Mr. Von Kuhlman signed the agreement for Germany, the Marquis Imperiale for Italy and Haki Pasha for Turkey.

The Italo-British Convention of



Map No. 2, showing approximately how the Turkish Empire was divided into British, French and Russian zones by the secret Sazonoff agreement of 1915, when Russia was still expected to share in the spoils of war. The arrangement as to Constantinople is conjectural

1914 shows that Italy's entrance as a claimant to privileges in Asia Minor goes back to a very different set of circumstances from that of the subsequent secret agreements, namely, to a time when Italy was the ally of Germany, and when she was brought upon the scene by Germany in an effort to check the expansion of Great Britain.

In 1913 the Ottoman-Aidin Railway, which was controlled by British capital, had asked for an extension of concessions. Map No. 1 (printed on a preceding page), which shows the details of the Italo-British Convention, indicates also the respective spheres of interest of France, Great Britain and Germany up to this time. The British railway, it will be seen, extended as far as Eghirdir. To the north was the Smyrna-Cassaba Railway, controlled by the French. To the northeast was the Bagdad Railway, controlled by the Germans. When the British asked for permission to extend their railway line, Tur-



Map No. 4 outlines the agreement of 1915 between Great Britain and King Hussein of the Hedjaz, by which the latter's four sons were to rule four States of a new Arabian empire. Later schemes of the allied nations have largely prevented the fulfillment of this promise, on the strength of which Prince Feisal and his army helped to conquer the Turks



Map No. 3 outlines the carving done by the Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916. The Blue and Red Zones were to be ruled respectively by France and Great Britain, while the Brown Zone was to be internationalized. Zones A and B were to constitute an Arab State in which France and Great Britain respectively were to have priority in financial and commercial privileges

key was affirmatively disposed, and in order to thwart the British, Germany brought in her ally, Italy, to circumvent them.

The convention preceded the declaration of war by only a few months, and the commencement of hostilities prevented the actual granting of the concessions. The map shows the elaborate set of railway lines which Italy, supported by her ally, was to construct in the southwestern section of Asia Minor. This set of lines went far beyond any prospective likelihood of remunerative returns. That Great Britain agreed to this introduction of Italian competition into a region where the British had already invested heavily can be regarded as an indication of her good faith in the negotia-

tions. This concession to Germany's ally should go far to refute those who asserted that Britain's policy was to shut the Central Powers out. In the districts served by these projected Italian railways, the Italians had no mining concessions and no commercial interests. The British had both mining concessions and extensive commercial interests.

Map No. 1 does more than indicate the probable course of future railway development. It indicates what the Germans considered to be important production centres of the future. The

March 6, 1917. The ninth section of this secret treaty of 1915 begins as follows: "France, Great Britain and Russia recognize as an axiom the fact that Italy is interested in maintaining the political balance of power in the Mediterranean, and her right to take over, when Turkey is broken up, a portion equal to theirs in the Mediterranean—namely, in that part which borders on the Province of Adalia, where Italy has already acquired special rights and interests laid down in the *Italo-British Convention*." Italy coveted this portion of Asia Minor because of its proximity to the islands which she had seized during the Italian-Turkish War of 1913. No special map accompanied this pact.

THE SAZONOFF AGREEMENT

Preceding the Pact of London in 1915, and before the matter of Italy's participation in the war had become so prominent, there was arranged in London what may be called the Agreement of Sazonoff. Sazonoff was the Russian Ambassador at London, and this agreement, involving only the interests of Russia, Great Britain and France, established the main outlines which were adhered to in subsequent

agreements. This agreement has never been published, and it is said that Great Britain paid large sums at the time of the Russian revolution to buy up all the documents that had reference to it. The probable terms of the agreement of Sazonoff are given in Map No. 2. The boundaries in Eastern Turkey, as given in this map, can be considered as quite accurate. The boundaries with respect to Constantinople must be regarded as conjectural. There is good reason for believing that not much outside of the cities of Constantinople and Scutari was included in the territory to be administered by Russia, although possibly



Map No. 5 shows how Italy, under the agreement of St. Jean de Maurienne, was to have had a Green Zone that included Smyrna and ran almost to Adana. This was before Greece had come in for a share

termini appear to be selected not with a view to further extensions and connections, but the lines penetrate into districts from which mining or agricultural products might be foreseen as emanating. The Italo-British Convention of 1914 has, therefore, commercial as well as historic value.

THE PACT OF LONDON

There is a reference to the foregoing agreement in the secret "Pact of London" arranged between Italy and her new allies on April 26, 1915. The terms of this latter "pact" became public only when the revolutionaries in Russia published them on

there may have been an intention to consider the Black Sea littoral under Russian influence.

THE SYKES-PICOT AGREEMENT

The Sykes-Picot Agreement, often referred to, was signed in May, 1916. It is something of a mystery why the Blue Zone, granted to France by this agreement, as shown in Map No. 3, did not fill in all the territory attributed to France by the Agreement of Sazonoff. Possibly Mr. Sykes and Mr. Picot did not have before them a copy of the older agreement and outlined only the main provisions of the respective claims of Great Britain and France. In helping to draft this agreement Mr. Sykes must have comprehended only in part the pledges which the British had made through Colonel Lawrence to the Arabs; because the provisions adopted, while not in conflict with the pledges to the Arabs, were difficult to accord with these pledges. The main points in the Agreement are the following:

1. France and Great Britain will recognize and protect an independent Arab State or a confederation of Arab States in the Zones A and B, indicated on the map, under the suzerainty of an Arab chief. In Zone A France and in Zone B Great Britain shall have the right of priority in undertakings and in local loans. In Zone A France and in Zone B Great Britain will furnish counselors upon the demand of the Arab State or States.

2. In the Blue Zone France and in the Red Zone Great Britain shall be authorized to establish such an administration as it desires or as it may deem expedient after consultation with the head of the Arab State or confederation of States.

3. In the Brown Zone an international administration will be established whose form shall be determined after consultation with Russia and then in accord with the other allies and with the representative of the Shereef of Mecca.

4. To Great Britain will be granted the ports of Haifa and of Acre. Great Britain promises not to undertake any negotiations looking to the cession of the island of Cyprus without the previous consent of France.

5. Alexandretta shall be a free port for the commerce of Great Britain. Haifa shall be a free port for the commerce of France.

6. The Bagdad railway shall not be extended further east than Mosul nor further

north than Samara until a railway connecting Bagdad with Aleppo via the Euphrates Valley shall have been completed.

7. Great Britain shall have the right to construct a railway connecting Haifa with Zone B, and in case engineering difficulties arise, France will permit the line to pass through a portion of Zone A.

8. Customs regulations.

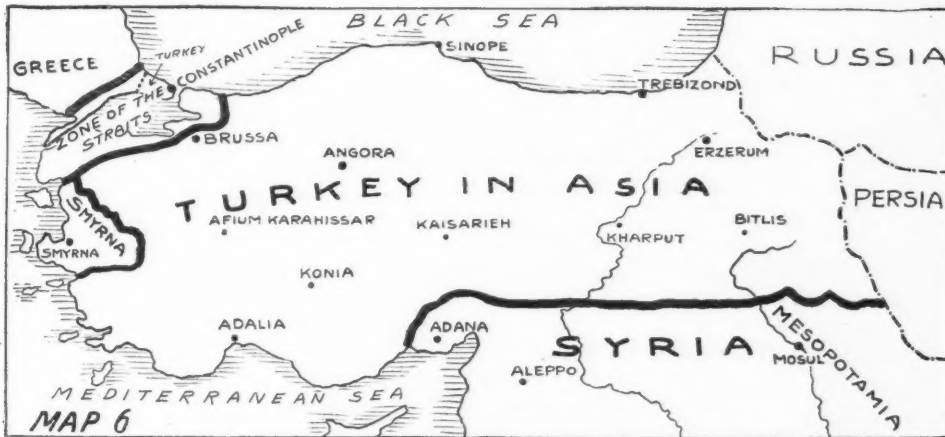
9. The French Government shall not cede its rights in the Blue Zone to any third party except the Arab State without the previous consent of Great Britain, and Great Britain makes the same agreement with respect to the Red Zone.

- 10, 11 and 12. Details with respect to the Arab State.

AGREEMENT WITH KING HUSSEIN

Map No. 4 presents the main features of the agreements between Great Britain and Hussein, Shereef of Mecca and King of Hedjaz. Although these agreements were made in July and October of 1915, they were not communicated to the French till February of 1919, that is to say, until the Peace Conference was well under way. A secret French Foreign Office report written in March, 1919, calls this "a case of flagrant bad faith." These agreements planned a great Arab Confederacy of four kingdoms, where the four sons of Hussein were each to have a throne. The oldest, Ahmed, was to be heir to his father's kingdom. The second son, Prince Feisal, was to be King of Syria with his capital at Damascus. The third son, Prince Abdullah, was to be King of Mesopotamia with his capital at Bagdad. The fourth son, Prince Zeid, a half-brother to the other Princes, was to have a kingdom in Kurdistan, with perhaps Mosul as his capital. Inspection of the provisions of this map will show how ill it accorded with the provisions of the Sykes-Picot Agreement.

The insistence of France not only that Syria be accorded to her in accordance with the Sykes-Picot Agreement, but also that her domains include Damascus and Aleppo, prevented the carrying out of the agreement with King Hussein. Prince Feisal attempted to hold his place in Damas-



Map No. 6 shows the new alignment under the Treaty of Sèvres. Greece gets Smyrna, Italy is eliminated, France abandons part of the Blue Zone, Turkey gains much, the Arabs lose out. The "Wilson boundary" of Armenia, which the Allies agreed to accept, begins west of Trebizond and runs south of Bitlis to the Persian frontier, and ought technically to be considered part of this map.

cus in spite of the French, but after a brief recourse to arms was persuaded to withdraw. The British have done the best they could to satisfy King Hussein by setting apart an autonomous State of Transjordan, over which Prince Abdullah rules; and Prince Feisal has been established as King of Mesopotamia. Both of these arrangements are felt by the French to threaten their position in Syria.

AGREEMENT OF ST. JEAN DE MAURIENNE

The Agreement of St. Jean de Maurienne was negotiated on board a railway train by Lloyd George for Great Britain, by M. Ribot for France and by Baron Sonnino for Italy, and was made "subject to the consent of the Russian Government." Inasmuch as the Russian Government has never given its consent to this agreement, the British have construed it to have no binding force. The Italians have held that it would have been accepted by Russia save for the accident of the Russian revolution, and that therefore it has a moral force, at least so far as Great Britain and France are concerned. This agreement of St. Jean de Maurienne made Italy a

party to the Sykes-Picot Agreement of the year before. Map No. 5 shows how Italy was to have had allotted to her a Green Zone similar to the Blue and Red Zones previously given to France and Great Britain, respectively. There was also allotted a zone of influence, Zone C, to Italy on somewhat the same terms as Zones A and B had been previously set apart for France and Great Britain. Article 2 established Smyrna as a free port on the same terms as Haifa, Acre and Alexandretta, and in addition made Mersine a free port for Italian commerce.

The secret French Foreign Office report of March, 1919, mentioned above, refers in regretful terms to "conversations" which have modified the Sykes-Picot Agreement to the extent of abandoning Mosul and of granting to Great Britain alone the mandate for Palestine. Curiously enough, this report mentions the possibility of renouncing a part of the territories in the north and says that this would be none of Great Britain's affair, but would be a matter between France and the power which should have the mandate for Armenia. Presumably the reference here is to the United States as the probable mandatar.

THE TREATY OF SEVRES

The Turcophile influences already evident in the terms of the Armistice signed in October of 1918 found their more developed expression in the Treaty of Sevres of Aug. 10, 1920, the geographical features of which were illustrated by three maps. The third map had to do with a detail of the provisions for the internationalization of the Dardanelles and is not important for our purpose. The first and second maps, which are here reproduced as Map No. 6, show an entirely new alignment of interest. Greece appears; Italy is eliminated; and France abandons the largest part of its Blue Zone, compensation being had in the new arrangement as to Zone A. The Arabs lose out and the Turks gain. Although "His Majesty the King of the Hedjaz" is printed as one of the signatories of this treaty, there is nothing to show that any one actually signed in behalf of the Arab King. Certain it is that the Arabs have not accepted the treaty and that it went directly against the terms of the previous agreements with the Arabs.

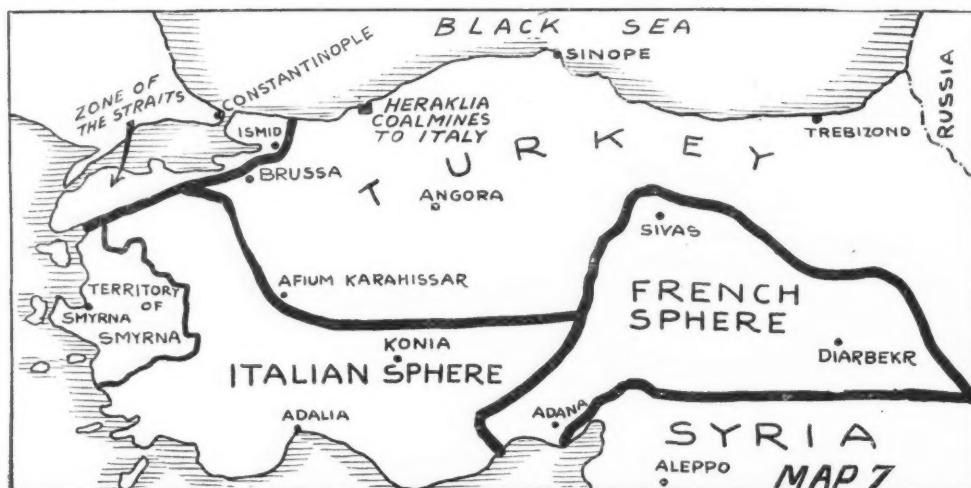
THE TRIPARTITE AGREEMENT

Although in this Treaty of Sevres Italy and France appear to have aban-

doned some of their gains in Asia Minor, there was arranged—on the same date as that of the signing of the treaty—a Tripartite Agreement by which Italy and France obtained all the privileges contained in the agreements of 1916 and 1917, and were freed of most of the responsibilities. The evident intention of this Tripartite Agreement was to exclude other powers from sharing in the exploitation of concessions in the zones indicated. These zones are outlined in Map No. 7.

TREATIES WITH NATIONALISTS

Since this Tripartite Agreement there have been two separate agreements between the Nationalist Turks at Angora and France and Italy. Neither of these treaties has been ratified by the Government at Angora. The former provided for important modifications in the Sevres Treaty, proposed without consultation with the other signatories of the treaty. It took from the Arab State and from the Blue Zone an important slice of territory and gave it to the Turkish Nationalists. This was certainly a breach of faith with the Arabs, and directly against Article 9 of the Sykes-Picot agreement, where, as has been said, the promise was made not



Map No. 7 outlines the "spheres of influence" which the Tripartite Agreement of 1920 substituted for the zones which the earlier agreements had allotted to Italy and France

to abandon territory in the Blue Zone without the consent of Great Britain. Fortunate was it for the inhabitants of Cilicia, which constitutes the most important part of the Blue Zone, that the refusal of the Turkish Nationalists to ratify the separate treaty has held it up; for it is possible that this hostile attitude of Angora will drive the French back to their older policy, and they may decide to keep their troops in the districts of Cilicia.

If the right sort of adjustment is made in Turkey, under proper protection, if the different racial elements are granted geographical districts where they can work out their national life, there is every reason to expect that States comparable to the Balkan States in power and in prospects may be built up in the Tauro-Caucasian region. When Greece was

set free from Turkey in 1830 the Greek population was in the neighborhood of half a million. When Bulgaria was set free from Turkey the Bulgarian population was in the neighborhood of a million. Both Greece and Bulgaria have made great strides since escaping from Turkish misrule. The Balkan States sometimes have been referred to as types of perpetual ferment, but the ferment was largely supplied from outside, and, left to themselves, the Balkan States were in a fair way to establish a Balkan confederacy. There is good reason to believe that, with protection against the Turks assured, the Tauro-Caucasian races may group into, say, the following States: Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Kurdistan and Pont, which all might constitute a United States of Tauro-Caucasia.

ENGLAND'S HAND IN THE NEAR EAST

BY HENRY C. FLOWER JR.*

A clear and simple statement of the actual situation underlying all the intrigues of British, French, Italian, Greek and Arabian politics in the former Turkish Empire—Semi-official analysis

THERE is but one hand that rules in the Near East, and that is the hand of England. It may often be gloved, it may even be pocketed, but it is always there. The justice or injustice of this state of affairs is not here under question; suffice it that we know the fact.

Great Britain's control over Egypt and the Suez region is now, except for sporadic native uprisings, beyond the pale of conjecture. Even these periodic outbreaks are indications of her strength rather than her weakness, because those who clamor for Egyptian independence—the scum of her seaport populations, a coterie of political intriguers, and those among

the peasant fellaheen whom propaganda has reached—know full well that it is with a strong England they have to deal. The sympathy of France, Italy and even America is invoked, not because these countries have much influence in that region, but because the leaders of the Egyptian movement believe they are interested in preventing England from making her foothold too permanent.

*Mr. Flower, a Harvard graduate and a resident of Kansas City, was a naval aviator during the war, after which he made a tour of the world. While in Egypt he was asked by the representative of the United States to make a trip into Asia Minor and report upon conditions. His report, the release of which was sanctioned by the naval authorities, is summarized in the article herewith.

Yet Egypt knows that no matter what political terminology is adopted to cover her dependence, she is bound in every respect to the apron strings of Downing Street.

This does not imply that her condition is any less fortunate than it would be if she were the protege of some other power. Quite the contrary. I am firmly convinced that among the nations of the world England stands as the best colonizer. France is very apt to exploit the natural resources of a colony without giving anything to the indigenous population in return, in the way of education or civic improvement; and the United States would doubtless irritate dissenting multitudes by her unwillingness to compromise in the administration of strict and impartial justice. England, by long experience, has come to know that a people politically uneducated does not understand irrevocable laws and uncompromising law courts, and she has the good sense to temper her legislative enactments by cajolery and concession. But this is all another question linked too closely with that of Egyptian independence to be here discussed. To solve that problem one must first probe deeper and determine the answer to that all-important query: Can good government ever be a substitute for free government?

Palestine has lately come into prominence through the world-wide movement of Zionism. Sir Arthur Balfour, realizing early in the war that the support of the Jewish race would be of great moral value, particularly in the Near Eastern operations against the Germans and the Turks, issued his famous Declarations, in which he promised that if the land of Judea were reconquered, it should be given to the Jews for the establishment of their national home. The conference of the Allies called in May, 1920, at San Remo, gave legal sanction to these declarations, but at the same time expressly stipulated that no clause should be

so interpreted as to hamper or curtail in any way the interests of the Arabs. Now, any one who has been in Palestine during the last year cannot fail to realize that these two provisions are wholly incompatible.

In the first place, Judea is not a fertile country. There are certain valleys, to be sure, in which large crops are raised, but the deforestation of the surrounding hills in centuries past has not only deprived the country of vegetation but of the very soil that once covered the now prominent ledges of rock. The environs of Jerusalem are now waste and barren. When Omar marched triumphantly into the city in A. D. 636, he brought with him a horde of Arab settlers, and from that time on the Arabian people have eked out a meagre subsistence on this none too fertile ground. From bitter experience they have come to know that the land is not sufficiently fecund to support any large influx of outsiders.

Since the meeting of the San Remo Conference, the Jews (I should rather say the Zionists, for there are a great many Jews who do not approve of this attempt to drive out one race of people and re-create the Jewish kingdom by forcibly substituting another), have allowed themselves to be somewhat carried away by their enthusiasm. Now that their long-cherished dream is on the point of realization, they shun no step that points toward ultimate success. From the Arabs, impoverished by the ravages of war, they are buying every foot of soil that they can obtain. Where the Zionist money for these purchases comes from there can be little doubt. Prominent Jewish bankers and financiers the world over are keenly interested in this re-establishment of the nation of Israel. Nor is this buying up of the land the only way in which the Jews are seeking to gain control of Palestine. Jewish merchants are at this very moment selling their wares at just half the price of their Arab competitors, and are being repaid with unlimited subsidies

from Zionist coffers. The Arabs realize, to a man, that under such conditions they will soon be driven to the wall—driven out into the deserts on the further side of the Jordan to die. And they are too proud a race to give up without a fight. These are the causes that led directly to the Jerusalem riots of Easter week this year, and these are the causes that will continue to lead to unrest and rebellion throughout Palestine until something is done to mitigate the situation.

But this is not the point. We all know, or should know, that the power of England in the Near East is responsible for this state of affairs. The British Foreign Office has given its sanction to the principles of Zionism, and without this sanction the movement was doomed to failure. But now that the decisions of the San Remo Conference have been handed down, the Jews of the world are mustering their resources so that no consideration may stand in the way of this re-establishment of the nation of Israel. Only within the last few months General Boles, British High Commissioner for Palestine, has been removed and Herbert Samuel, a Jew, put in his place. As England decides the countries in the Near East are governed.

FRANCE AND SYRIA

Let me turn for a moment to the countries further north, to Syria and to Cilicia. France is still making more or less serious attempts to gain control over this section of the Near East. There is a small strip of Syrian coast lying north and south of Beirut, known as the Lebanon. This area has been pro-French since the time that Louis XIV. announced his protection over the people. In again sending an envoy to the Vatican, as she has very recently done, and in thus identifying herself as the champion of Catholicism, France has further strengthened her position among the indigenous Marmorites, for they, too, are orthodox Catholics.

But France's control over the rest of Syria and Cilicia amounts to practically nothing. From time to time General Gouraud sends an expedition into the hinterland to relieve some beleaguered garrison, or to effect the capture of some strategic point, but this by no means implies a domination of the country. A short week's sojourn in Damascus, the leading city of Syria, is sufficient to convince any one that the animosity against France—not only inside the walls, but throughout the surrounding country—is so bitter that the French Republic can never hope to make its control effective until it is willing to undertake an extensive expedition and subject the people by large military forces.

Though Great Britain has diplomatically remained in the background since the signing of the armistice with Turkey, nobody, even among the French, is duped as to her real power. In November, 1915, Sir Arthur MacMahon, acting in the name of the British Foreign Office, agreed to allow Hussein I., the old King of the Hedjaz, to establish the independent kingdom of Syria, including Palestine, Arabia, and parts of Mesopotamia, if through his support in the war the Allies succeeded in defeating Germany and in driving her out of the Near East. But when this end had once been accomplished, and the other secret treaties contracted during the course of the war brought to light, Hussein was shamelessly informed that the mandate over Syria had already been given to France under the provisions of the Sykes-Picot agreement drawn up in the Spring of 1916. There was nothing further to be done: England's word was law.

Emir Feisal, third son of Hussein I., who had led the Arab forces by the side of the English, and who had ostensibly been chosen as the ruler of this united Syria, made so bold as actually to declare himself King, and to attempt the establishment of a Government over the hinterland with Damascus as a capital. But the San

Remo Conference publicly confirmed the Sykes-Picot Agreement, and, although England may not have been entirely in sympathy, she was forced to give her nominal support to France in the enforcement of the mandate. Feisal abdicated at General Gouraud's dictation, and the French effected the temporary occupation of Damascus. Notwithstanding all this, and with a full realization that he had been betrayed, Feisal remained strongly pro-British. It was in his interest to be so. England has now installed him as King of Mesopotamia, much to the disgruntlement of France. And though France still has the mandate over Syria, she knows that England is at her elbow, ready to step in and take charge the moment she shows signs of weakening. If such a time should come, Feisal believes that the British Government, wishing as far as possible to make good its former promise, will call upon him to direct the Government of Syria. Then the complete realization of his nationalistic aspiration might be possible. With Great Britain in nominal and actual control of all that section of the Near East, it might not be difficult for administrative purposes to effect the unification of Syria, including Palestine, Arabia and Mesopotamia.

Most interesting is the situation whose nexus is Constantinople. Though censorship has kept a great many of the details from coming to light, it was here that one of the most heated and bitter of diplomatic battles was waged not long ago, involving the removal of the Caliphate. Throughout the Western world, and more especially in the United States, the feeling was very strong that the Turkish regime of intrigue and corruption had too long been the cause of unrest throughout the Near East. It was advocated, therefore, that Constantinople, the hotbed of illicit practices and political upheavals, should be purged of its viciousness; that the seat of the Ottoman Government should be transferred to some other city, and that the Turk should

irrevocably be driven from Europe. Those who opposed this solution argued that it was more advisable to keep the officials of the Turkish Government in some place where they could be carefully watched rather than let them retire to some city in the interior where their machinations could have free play.

It was Great Britain that was secretly advocating the removal of the Caliphate, and France was well aware of the fact. If Constantinople were no longer to be the centre of the Mohammedan religion, one of the two "holy cities," Mecca or Medina, would in all likelihood be chosen. Both these cities lie in the Kingdom of Arabia, over which the old King of the Hedjaz is supreme. Through their co-operation during the war against the Germans and the Turks in Palestine and Syria, a very firm bond of alliance has grown up between these people and the British, or rather between their respective Governments, for Hussein I. realizes that his position is wholly dependent upon the good will of Downing Street. France was also well aware of this fact, and knew that if the Caliphate were transferred to one of these two cities, England would be able to exert great influence over the Moslem world by her domination of its religious centre. Italy also was jealous of England's power, and took sides with France against her in this fight. About this time the Mohammedans in India, who number nearly 80,000,000, rose in protest and objected to the removal of the Caliphate from Constantinople, for they felt that its transference would symbolize the fall of the last kingdom in the world that followed the teachings of the Prophet. So England, with great show of magnanimity, consented to let the Caliphate remain where it had been since 1453, and allowed it to be known among her Indian subjects that her efforts had evidently brought about its retention.

Yet this did not mean that England was beaten. She had another

game to play. Since the signing of the armistice a joint control of England, France, Italy and the United States has existed over Constantinople. One morning last Spring every one in the city woke up to find that the fourteen-inch guns of the Queen Mary, the Iron Duke and the Benbow, three of the largest dreadnoughts in the British Navy, had been trained upon the War Office and other Government buildings in Constantinople, and that British "Tommies" with machine guns patrolled the streets. This accomplished, the High Commissioner for England announced to the High Commissioners of the other countries, and to the populace of the city, that Great Britain was henceforth in control of the military occupation of the city.

THE GREEKS IN SMYRNA

While England was thus engaged in Constantinople, Greece and Italy were both casting longing eyes on Smyrna, each lying in wait for the other to move. One day the Greek Government got word that an Italian squadron was steaming toward this desired seaport in Asia Minor, and she needed no further incentive. All available Greek battleships were immediately called into action and told to proceed to Smyrna with greatest possible dispatch. For a while it seemed as if the country that first effected the military occupation of the city would be the one to whom the mandate would be given, and neither Greece nor Italy was willing that the other should be thus favored. While the fleets were on their way, a violent storm broke over the Aegean Sea, and the Greek fleet was obliged to put in at one of the land-locked harbors of the coast. While waiting there, the Greek commander received a wireless message from the British Admiral in command of the Mediterranean squadron telling him to re-

main where he was and to await further orders; if he doubted the authenticity of these orders he had only to disobey, and a flotilla broadside would soon convince him that the authority was genuine. Apparently the same message was transmitted to the Italian fleet. After twenty-four hours' delay the Greek commander received another message from the British Admiral saying that he had been instructed by the Foreign Office to approve the Greek occupation, and that his forces would be allowed to proceed to Smyrna. From all indications the Italian fleet was ordered to put back, for its presence was never again heard of. And so Greece occupied the city and strengthened her claim to the mandate which the San Remo Conference was finally to award her.

Then Venizelos, Prime Minister of Greece, brought forward his demands regarding the reappportionment of the Turkish Empire. He held that Thrace, Macedonia, Smyrna and the Aegean Islands had belonged to Greece in ages past, and that they should now, in all justice, be returned to her. Those who first read his demands thought that he was asking for a very big slice, so that when it came time for compromising he would at least be sure of a few crumbs. Imagine the surprise even of the Greeks themselves when the San Remo Conference granted almost all of Venizelos's requests. And why? Because England was in a position of command at San Remo, because Greece staggered under an enormous war debt payable in a very short time to England, and because it was to their mutual advantage to stand together. England would rule in the name of another power, and Greece would attain her long-cherished commercial privileges. Here, as everywhere else in the Near East, the hand of England ruled, and rules today.

TROUBLES OF THE ZIONISTS IN PALESTINE

BY GERSHON AGRONSKY

For three years a soldier and correspondent in the
Holy Land

Analysis of causes that have fomented the Arabs' hostility to the Zionist Jews in Palestine—Chief difficulties now are lack of capital and delay of the League of Nations in approving the mandate

ZIONISTS generally concede that they have reached a searching time in their movement. The anti-Jewish riots in Jaffa on May 1, indisputably premeditated, in which forty Jews lost their lives and three times that number were wounded, have caused thinking Zionists to wonder whether there was not something wanting in their method. Suspension of Jewish immigration, ordered by the Palestine Government with the approval, no doubt, of the British Colonial Office, followed the riots. Then came Sir Herbert Samuel's speech on the occasion of the King's birthday on June 3, in which an interpretation of the Balfour declaration was given, for which, in the opinion of the member of the Zionist Commission to Palestine in charge of the political work, "there is not the slightest warrant in anything that has been said or written on the matter." Zionists are now thinking that they spent too much time in convincing the powers of the justice of their title to Palestine and far too little in proving to the Arab that the Zionists are not conspiring to evict him.

Failure to appease the Arab has led to the creation of what is commonly referred to in Palestine as the gulf between London, the centre of Zionist promises, and Jerusalem, the point of Zionist achievement. In London all public opinion, including that

of Parliament members from the Labor to the Government benches, with the one extreme and outstanding exception of The Morning Post, has enthusiastically endorsed the Zionist policy pursued first by the British Cabinet and more recently by the Colonial Office. In Jerusalem, on the other hand, some British officials even have been known to repeat the alleged Arab grievance. To be sure, these officials and others who profess sympathy for the Arab hasten to add that their being pro-Arab does not make them anti-Jew. But the fact of the matter is that the British official adapts himself to what strikes him at any given moment as the will of the majority, instead of being loyal to what is supposed to be the British policy. Last year, when the Administration believed that the so-called Haifa Congress, consisting of a small number of self-appointed Arab notables, was not a formidable force, its representatives were openly flouted and their demands rejected. Now, when the same number of Arabs meet, but with more insistent and garrulous demands, the Administration finds that it must yield to at least some of them. The suspension of Jewish immigration was by its very nature "a concession to Arab violence and prejudice," as The London Times pointed out in an editorial. So was the whole of the High Commissioner's speech,

announcing a policy of restrictive immigration for the future, and a peculiarly limited interpretation of the British Government's promise to the Zionists, as embodied in the Balfour declaration. This looks almost—in the words of the same political member of the Zionist Commission—"as if immigration were restricted as a punishment to the Jews for having been killed and wounded and robbed."

The Jaffa riots this year and the Easter outbreak in Jerusalem last year were not the result of a popular uprising. They were caused by Arab politicians who, in their campaign against the announced British Zionist policy, have used the good-natured, uneducated Arab as a dupe. These politicians, protagonists of an "Arab Homeland" or a "United Syria," are of two classes: There are the superior natives of Palestine, members of the landed class, who have had a much better time of it under the Turkish regime, and who feel that their interests are endangered by a Western Government with Western ideas of justice. They also fear Jewish immigration because of the effect of the Jew's higher standard of living upon the exploited cultivator. Foreigners who are opposed to the British because they would prefer French rule over what they choose to call Southern Syria constitute the other class. Peculiarly enough, there has been formed a loose sort of union between the representatives of the former, who are mostly Moslem, and the latter, who are Catholic. That French Syria received a very substantial piece of territory to the northwest of the Sea of Galilee, with nearly all access to the waters of the Litani River, is due to the manipulations of this combination. The ordinary native has had no hand in the matter, and it is doubtful if even now he has any knowledge of what has been done or is being done in his name.

The success of the Arab agitators is largely due to the injection of a new note in their appeal. They used

to express the fear that Jews would overrun the country and dispossess the native. When this fear was dispelled by categorical and convincing assurance from British and Zionist sources, Arab leadership adduced a new reason. The Jews, said they, even if admitted in reasonable numbers, would, by reason of their wealth, superiority in knowledge and political acumen, seize the most important places in commerce, in industry and in politics. When, after a year of Jewish immigration, Jewish capitalists failed to swarm to the country, the ten thousand or so pioneers from Eastern Europe embracing labor of the hardest kind on the roads and on the railways, the politicians raised a cry that Jewish Bolsheviki were swamping the land.

The riots and other overt acts do seem to point to hostility on the part of a section of the native population toward Zionist immigration. It is based, however, on a misconception of the Zionist aims, and could be overcome. Those who have spent any time in the country know, as the Arabs directly affected by Zionist work know, that Palestine has much to gain and nothing to lose from a large Zionist immigration. Where Arab villages cluster about Jewish colonies, said Winston Churchill, "the Arab houses are tiled instead of being built of mud, so that the culture from this centre has been spread out into the surrounding district." Low as the standard of wages is in Palestine, it is infinitely higher where Arabs are employed by Jews. Jewish labor has given an impetus to the organization of Arab labor. Arab trade unions are springing up that never would have sprung up had the country been left to Turkish ideas of economic progress and the Effendi's idea of social justice. The network of Zionist schools has prompted Arab parents to begin thinking of their children's education. The Jewish peace courts are beginning to serve as models for the Arabs, who are only now learning to settle

disputes by other means than tribal feuds resulting in mutual extermination. Had the Zionists been in a position to give free play to their powers and given a stable form of administration, there would be no more hostility against Zionists and Zionism.

Peace in Palestine will be secured when the League of Nations puts the formal stamp of approval on the mandate, and when the Zionist organization obtains the means for carrying out its program. Just now there is keen disappointment on the part of the Palestine Government with the Zionist Organization. When the Jewish National Council protested against Samuel's interpretation of the Balfour Declaration, the High Commissioner replied, with some bitterness, that he was not to blame. Where, he asked, is the Jewish capital; where the great Jewish minds that were expected to regenerate Palestine? The Jewish representatives could only point to the plight of the Jewish people. Of the 15,000,000 Jews in the world, only the Jews of America and of the British Empire are in position to make substantial financial contributions to the Zionist movement. The rest, especially those in Eastern and Central Europe, are politically incapacitated and financially ruined. It also happened that a period of decided Zionist inactivity in this country coincided with the inauguration of the civil administration in Palestine in July last year. This inactivity, following four years of splendid organization work and whole-hearted financial assistance to the World Zionist Movement, was in the main responsible for the rejection of the former American Zion-

ist leaders at the Cleveland convention. Meantime, the plans proposed by the Palestine Foundation Fund (Keren Hayesod), which contemplated considerable expenditure for immigration, for purchase of land for agricultural settlements, for afforestation and terracing of the hillsides, for drainage of marshes, sanitary service, educational facilities, co-operative and mortgage banks, and a great electrification and irrigation scheme—all had to be pigeon-holed pending the financial support from America which was not forthcoming. Zionists in this country, aware that their inactivity was at least partially responsible for the unrest in Palestine, welcomed Dr. Weizmann, the President of the World Zionist Organization, when he came to enlist the support of American Jewry.

The delay in registering the mandate because of America's refusal to participate is holding up a number of important concessions. Industrial stagnation produced in this way leads to dissatisfaction with the Palestine Government and disappointment with the Zionist Administration. It is responsible for the continuous increase in import figures and corresponding decrease in exports. It tends to scatter sparks in a country surcharged with combustible material. Those earnestly wishing to see peace in Palestine, which is becoming the pivot of the Near East, who desire to see an end to the eternal wrangling between the sects over the holy places, who wish to see the Zionist dream on its way to practical achievement, hope for three things: They want the mandate to be ratified, the Keren Hayesod to succeed, and, as a result of the two, the Arab to be reconciled.

POLAND AND THE JEWS

BY MAURICE SAMUEL

Member of the Morgenthau Mission to Poland

A reply to the article by James J. Kann in the August Current History defending the attitude of the Poles toward the Jews—Various evidences of Polish injustice and persecution cited—Why no Polish paper published General Jadwin's report

IT is impossible to reply to Mr. Kann's article, or to analyze the Polish-Jewish situation without first pointing out certain fundamental inaccuracies on which much of the argument of Mr. Kann is based. Almost at the outset we find the following passage: "Since the report of the Morgenthau Mission it is almost unnecessary to waste space with a denial of the vivid and exaggerated stories of atrocities which have been disseminated, for one reason or another, as the various allegations of this kind were fully investigated and properly disposed of by that body of men." Further in the article occurs the phrase, "the rare instances of violence to the Jew. * * *"

A dry and colorless report of bare physical facts, the Morgenthau report contains among other matters a detailed and dispassionate account of the massacre of seventy Jews in Vilna, sixty-odd in Lemberg, thirty-odd in Lida, thirty-odd in Minsk, about the same number in Pinsk; it tells coldly of the brutal deportation of hundreds of Jews, of the violation of thousands of Jewish homes. As interpreter to the mission during the investigations in Vilna and elsewhere, I heard from surviving victims of the heartless murder of defenseless men, women and children, was told by an eyewitness how Weiter, the brilliant Jewish dramatist (a pro-Polish writer, *en passant*), was dragged into the street and shot down by jeering soldiers; how a friend of

his, Mme. Sherman, who pleaded for him, was shot down by his side; how eight Jews, who were being marched to prison, were shot down on the road to Lipuwka (a suburb of Vilna) by their escort, and hastily thrust into a common grave. Does Mr. Kann know nothing of the story of Pinsk, where a Zionist meeting was interrupted by Commandant Luszyński, and thirty-six Jews were marched out and shot down without semblance of a trial? He will find the facts set down without exaggeration in the Morgenthau report. Does he know nothing of the massacre of Lida? He will find an unimpeachable account in the same document.

But there is this further statement of Mr. Kann: "The failure of the Government to protect the Jews is not due to any predetermined policy of the officials, but rather to the general weakness of the administrative system. * * *" Permit me to quote from unpublished notes of mine, made in Poland while with the Morgenthau Mission; they will throw a curious light on the attitude of Government officials.

General Jadwin, a member of the Morgenthau Mission, went down with Captain Goodhart and another American officer, both of them members of the same mission, with the Polish troops which took Minsk from the Bolsheviki. Before General Jadwin's official report was published, there appeared in part of the Jewish press a statement that after the tak-

ing of Minsk thirty-odd Jews were killed and over three hundred Jewish stores looted. The Polish P. A. T. (Official Polish Telegraph Agency) printed a counter-report, stating that only seven Jews had been killed, and these accidentally or deservedly. Side by side with this Polish version appeared, of course, the usual editorial comment, branding the Jewish reports as wild exaggerations and intimating that the Jews were traducing Poland in the eyes of the world.

The very day that the Polish press printed the denial ("official") of the Jewish reports, it might have obtained from General Jadwin the official report of the mission on the Minsk incident, in which the General stated that thirty-odd Jews had been killed and three hundred Jewish stores looted. Not a single case of Jews shooting on the Polish soldiery from the windows (this was a favorite defense of the Polish press) had been reported or observed.

General Jadwin's report appeared, of course, in the Jewish press. *Not a single Polish organ, governmental or otherwise, reproduced General Jadwin's report.* But the crowning insult lay in the last words of the official Polish report, which, after insisting that only seven Jews had been killed, added: "*General Jadwin was a witness of the taking of the town!*"

Let it be noted that among the Polish organs referred to are several official and semi-official journals, namely, the papers of Dmowski and Niemojewski. Let it be further noted that Commandant Luscinsky, by whose orders the thirty-six Jews of Minsk were shot down without trial, was never rebuked, much less punished.

Mr. Kann's defense of Polish hatred for the Jew falls into four sections: The intense patriotism of the Poles, who, now that the opportunity is theirs, desire to see their country united and homogeneous; Jewish separatism; Jewish Bolshevism; Jewish business. It is not the first time that the last two explanations have

been offered *en bloc* without an appreciation of the fundamental contradiction contained in them. "The Jews," says Mr. Kann, "are inclined by heredity toward a mercantile life." Yet, in the same article, he speaks of the "preference of great numbers of them for the rulership of the Germans or the Bolsheviki." Now, if there is any class of society which hates Bolshevism with all its heart and soul, it is the merchant class, the distributing middleman, whom the Bolsheviki first and most rigorously suppressed. And the truth is, as Mr. Kann states, that the Jews, "forbidden the ownership of property, form the great class of merchants." To accuse them of Bolshevism, then, is the height of absurdity. And to blame them for constituting "the great class of merchants" is, in view of the fact that "they were forbidden the ownership of property," the height of injustice.

Let us turn to the accusation of Jewish separatism and its relation to the desire of the Poles for a united and homogeneous Poland. Mr. Kann says:

"The Jews who live today in Poland are mainly the immigrants of recent years, who have come westward from Russia. These late arrivals, or 'Litwacs' are as orthodox in their beliefs and customs as were their forefathers generations ago." These are two historical inaccuracies. *There were Jews in Poland before there were Poles.* The vast majority of Polish Jews have in any case been settled in the country for centuries. During the wars of Bogdan Chmelnitzky, in the seventeenth century, 300,000 Jews, we are told, were massacred in Poland. This does not sound as though the vast majority of Jews were recent arrivals. Moreover, there is not a Jew who does not know that the "Litwac" is the modernizing element in Poland. I wonder whether Mr. Kann has ever traveled from Warsaw to Vilna through the Jewish towns of Wishkow, Ostrow, Zambrow, &c., and seen the Jewish gabardine

give way gradually to modern garb as he came into "Litwac" territory. One such trip would have shown him the absurdity of his contention. Such separatism as exists among the Jews of Poland is *not* the result of foreign influence; it is the heritage of Jews whose historic claim to Polish citizenship is at least as well founded as that of the Poles. And the "separatism" of the Polish Jew is confined to utterly harmless details of dress and appearance and to the practice of a different though not inferior religion.

But the most curious accusation is that "the Jews insist on crowding together in ghettos, where filth and disease cannot possibly be prevented." I have spoken with hundreds of these unhappy Jews, who live, four, five, six, ten to a room, in the horrible Franciskana 29 of Warsaw and in the equally horrible Baluty of Lodz; I have yet to learn that there is a single one of them who "insisted" on the priceless privileges of dirt, poverty and hunger; that there is a single one of them who would not sacrifice a year of life for the opportunity of removing to the Marshalkowska or the Georgewska, nearer to their wealthier co-religionists.

The blind demand of the Poles for a homogeneous country, excited to the point of fanaticism by sudden liberation from foreign oppression, is only the explanation of their hatred for the Jew, not an excuse for it. Nor is it a purely Polish problem. The clauses in the Polish treaty which give the Jews minority rights (there are only 5,000,000 Jews in Poland, notes Mr. Kann—rather more than there are Irish in Ireland, that is) were *not* peculiar to Poland or to the Jews. They were an answer to the ancient and bitter problem of minorities, whether of Hungarians in Rumania, of Germans in Czechoslovakia, or of Poles in Lithuania. The ancient system of repression (practiced by Germans on Poles, by

Hungarians on Czechoslovaks, by Germans on Alsatians, to quote a few historic instances) is discredited; part of the war at least was fought by the Allies for the removal of this ancient evil. Ethnic homogeneity is, of course, the dream of every country; but where populations are so mingled as in Europe, it is an impossibility, and no repression, no persecution, will achieve the disappearance of millions of human beings with powerful ethnic characteristics. Germany has learned that lesson at terrific cost; let Poland benefit by her neighbor's disasters.

The problem is not as simple as this critic would have it appear. "The Jews must be persuaded to forsake their secular peculiarities," he says. "They must be educated in the modern conception of religious practice, taught that devotion to the State is as paramount as devotion to creed." The Jew does not need or desire outside tuition as to "the modern conception of religious practice." Nor need he be taught that "devotion to the State is as paramount as devotion to creed." America has shown, by its large and generous tolerance of "secular peculiarities" of a harmless nature, that the Jew responds by instinct to love of country—witness the tens of thousands of Jews (a goodly proportion of them of Polish origin) whose names are recorded on the rosters of the American armies of the great war. The problem is a large and complex problem of education, of the evolution of tolerance and neighborliness. It is not the problem of a day. The long and vicious work of demagogues has borne fruit in the unreasoning embitterment of the whole Polish Nation against the Jews. It will need the efforts of lofty and inspired statesmen to undo that disastrous work. Perhaps the troublous times do not encourage such efforts, but sooner or later they will be made and crowned with success.

INTERNATIONAL CARTOONS OF CURRENT EVENTS

[American Cartoon]

LOOKS AS THOUGH THEY WOULD NEVER
DO TEAM WORK



—New York Evening Mail.

[Dutch Cartoon]
The Japanese Ass Between Two Haystacks



—De Notenkraaker, Amsterdam.

[American Cartoon]
Finally Opened—From the Inside



—St. Louis Star.

[French Poster]
To the Rescue!



Help for the Russians dying of hunger!

[Polish Cartoon]

JOHN BULL'S NIGHTMARE.



—Mucha, Warsaw.

JOHN BULL: "I never thought that the wine of victory would produce such effects."

Despite the fact that Great Britain emerged victoriously from the war, she has found it to some extent a Pyrrhic victory. There is serious trouble in many of her wide-flung dominions. The Irish question has not yet been solved; insurrection has reared its head in India; the Nationalist movement in Egypt has aroused apprehension, and Kemal Pasha has been menacing her control of Constantinople.

[American Cartoon]
OUT OF MEAT!



—National Republican, Washington

The Soviet régime in Russia, after the destruction of the most intelligent elements of the population, finds the country it has so grossly misruled in the throes of starvation. Bolshevik Russia now appeals to the charity of the world.

[American Cartoons]

Coming Along Fast



—*Rochester Democrat and Chronicle.*

Cutting It Out



—Central Press Association.

The cordial response that has greeted President Harding's invitation to the Disarmament Conference warrants the hope that a weary and war-ridden world may at last find peace.



Come on in, the water's
fine

—*San Francisco Chronicle.*

[English Cartoon]

DELILAH UP TO DATE

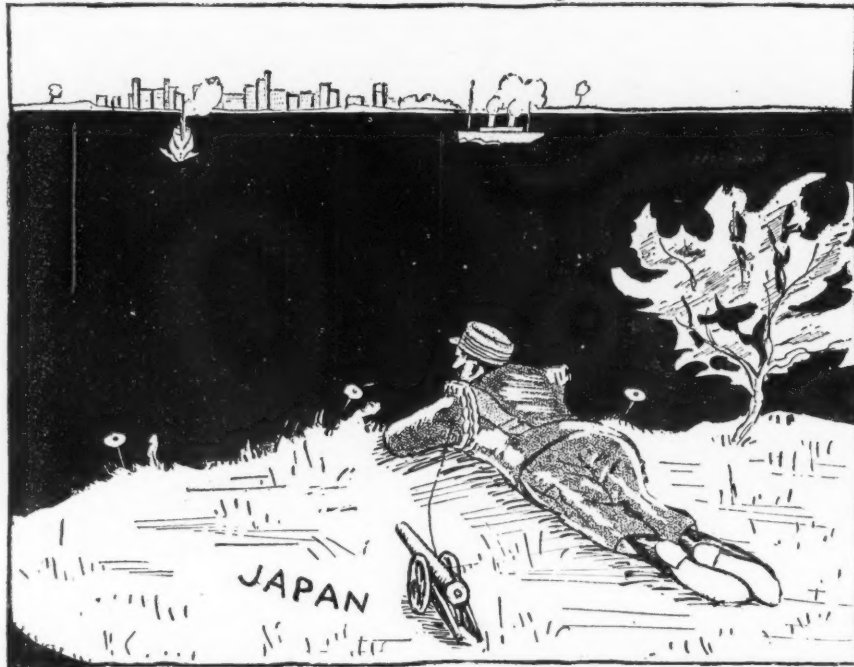


George Whitlaw

—Passing Show, London

MISS COLUMBIA: "Now's the time, boys, for us to give old Samson a hair-cut!"

[Norwegian Cartoon]
Yellow Friendship



—Hvepsen, Christiania.

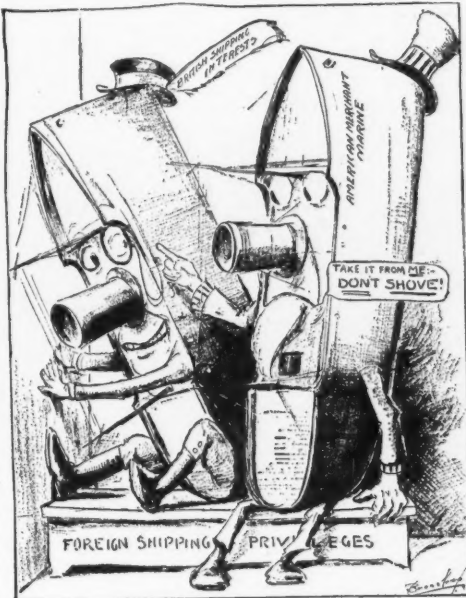
JAPAN: "I deny absolutely that I have any enmity to America. Indeed, I look with pleasure to the day when that glorious land shall belong to me."

[American Cartoon]
The New Czar of Russia.



—Kolokol, New York.

[American Cartoons]



—San Francisco Chronicle.

Plenty of Room for Both.



—Dayton (O.) News.



"Oh, Boy! If Those Tax Payers Could See Me Now."

The problem of disposing of the wooden ships, built in haste during the war, is a puzzling one. Many of them are unseaworthy, and all of them are costing the Government immense sums for maintenance. An offer has been made of \$430,600 for 206 ships, or a little over \$2,000 apiece, and has been seriously considered. The whole amount would not equal what it cost to build a single ship.

How Much Longer Is He Going to Keep His Little Pet?

—Los Angeles Times.

[American Cartoons]



Enforcing the Volstead Law

—Central Press Assn.

The difficulties of enforcing the Volstead law seem to increase, and the acquiescence of the public, which was looked for by prohibition advocates after the first protest of the "wets" had subsided, is nowhere in evidence. Bootlegging is rampant, "rum runners" with liquor from abroad are hovering about the coast, and an immense quantity of liquor is flowing over the Canadian and Mexican borders.

Another Troublesome Immigration Problem

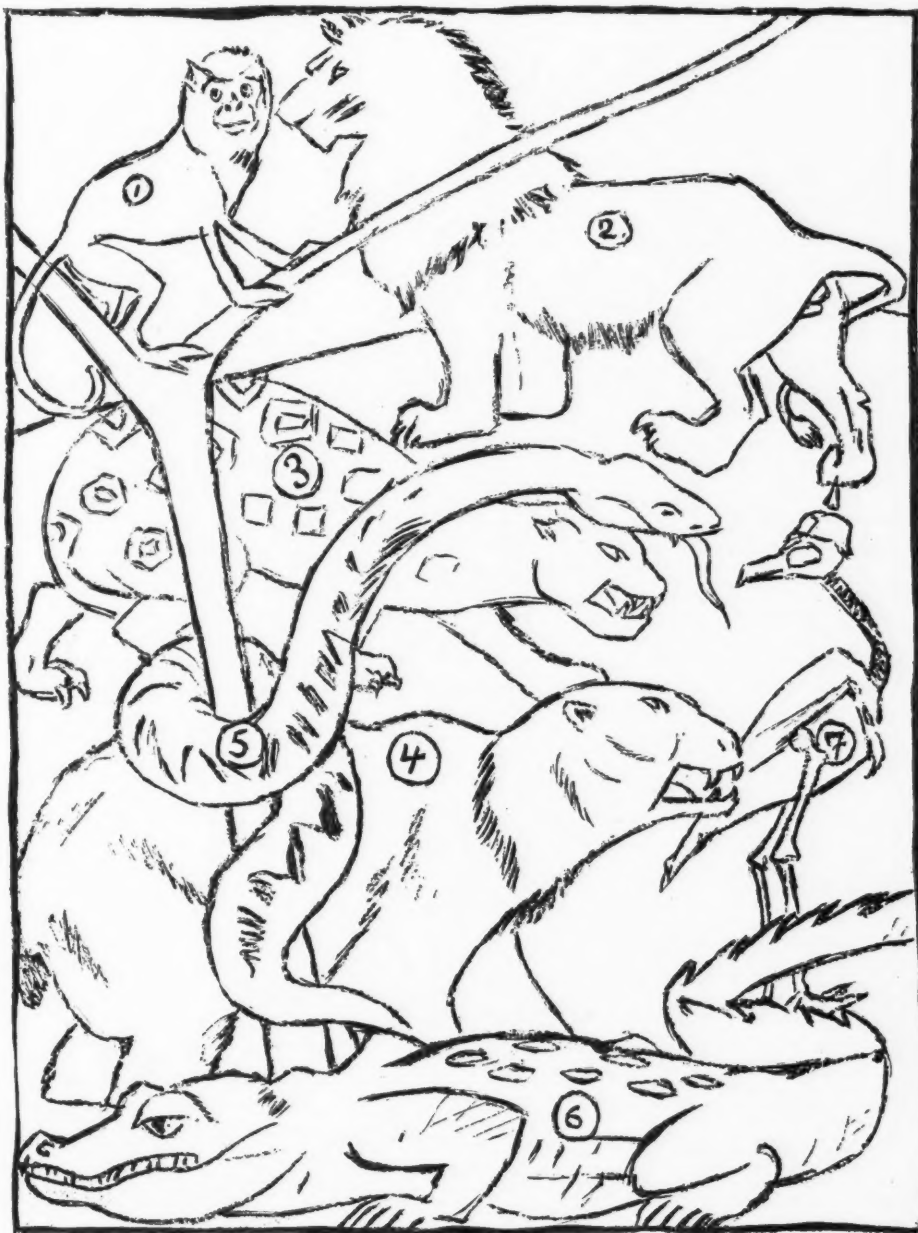
—Dayton (O.) News.

Not only does the Government have its difficulties in excluding contraband shipments of liquors from abroad, but its efforts are hindered by a marked change in Congressional circles on the question of enforcement. Sentiment seems to be growing that prohibition agents have been too drastic in the matter of entry and search of private houses, and an amendment has been passed in the Senate which makes it a punishable offense to search premises without a warrant.



[German-Swiss Cartoon]

INTERNATIONAL DISARMAMENT



-Nebelspalter, Zurich.

(1) France, (2) England, (3) Japan, (4) Russia, (5) Poland, (6) America agree that disarmament must begin, and toward this end the first step is the total disarmament of Germany (7).

[English Cartoon]

UNANIMOUS



—The Passing Show, London.

JAPAN: "My intentions, I assure you, are entirely Pacific!"
UNCLE SAM: "Sure—so are mine!"
JOHN BULL: "Same here!"

[Dutch Cartoon]

THE IRISH QUESTION



—De Amsterdammer, Amsterdam.

LLOYD GEORGE (to De Valera): "Pull on the oars. We must pass through the breakers to reach the harbor!"

[American Cartoon]

"Search me, sonny."

Neptune, in the accompanying cartoon, is represented as giving up the conundrum, "What is Pacific about this ocean?" That ocean is now generally acknowledged to be one of the most dangerous political storm centres in the world. The importance of the subject is indicated by the fact that Asiatic newspapers today almost invariably refer to the coming arms-limitation conference at Washington as the "Pacific Conference."



—Detroit News.

A BULGARIAN REPLY TO SERBIAN CHARGES

To the Editor of Current History:

To my plea for justice to my unhappy country, published in the May issue of *CURRENT HISTORY*, Mr. Gordon Gordon-Smith, in the issue for July, has returned rash denials couched in vehement and abusive language. Let me point out that denial is not refutation, and that violent language can add nothing to the defense of a good cause.

I know Mr. Gordon-Smith as an old hand in the bolstering up of Serbian calumnies against Bulgaria. No Serbian could be more violent than he in his denunciations of Bulgaria and of the alleged wrongs that Bulgaria has inflicted upon Serbia. He is "more Royalist than the King." Special writers for special purposes are necessarily so. I am, however, obliged to him for the opportunity he has given me to array a further list of facts and figures in the defense of my country against unscrupulous abuse and accusations.

I stated that Bulgaria led the Balkan allies in the first Balkan war; fought the great and decisive battles, and unaided drove the Turks—the common enemy—to the walls of Constantinople and obliged them to sue for peace. I further declared that Bulgaria committed no acts of treachery against her allies or against the Entente powers, and that the conduct of those allies, on the contrary, was invariably treacherous toward Bulgaria throughout the war. I repeat those statements.

Lack of space prevents me from giving all the facts which prove that Bulgaria was the leader and main belligerent in that first war. The Serbian operations were limited to the south, in Macedonia—those of Bulgaria extended not only to Macedonia, but also to Thrace. The Turkish forces in Thrace totaled 215,000 men, as compared with only 60,000 in Macedonia. Serbia fought but one decisive battle, that of Koumanovo. She fought a secondary battle at Bitolia (Monastir), and Bulgarian forces contributed powerfully to the Turkish defeat. Bulgarian combatants were active in clearing Macedonia of the Turks. The main

Bulgarian forces, after a series of hard-fought battles, immured some of the Turks in Adrianople and drove the rest to the Chataldja positions and Boulair on the Gallipoli Peninsula.

Though the Serbians contributed 28,000 men to complete the blockade of the Adrianople fortress, not one Serbian took part in the actual storming. Not one Serbian took part in any of the operations against the Turkish main forces, Adrianople excepted. Serbia withdrew after the secondary battle of Bitolia, twenty days after the beginning of hostilities; Bulgaria fought on until war broke out between the allies, June 29, 1913. The report of the Carnegie Commission shows that Bulgaria's losses were 30,024 killed, 53,465 wounded, 3,195 missing, a total of 86,684 casualties. In contrast Serbia had 5,000 killed and 18,000 wounded. (These figures were given by the Serbian Minister of War to the Serbian Assembly. Both Serbia and Greece withheld the information demanded by the International Commission.) The data given will enable the reader to draw his own conclusions as to which of the allies was leader in the war.

Let me now dispose of the charges made against the Bulgarians of committing atrocities on Serbians and others. Mr. Gordon-Smith formed part of a self-constituted international commission of inquiry, composed of himself, his friend Professor Reiss of Lausanne—one of his main witnesses—a Belgian newspaper correspondent and a Serbian officer. Mr. Gordon-Smith rode, as he says, through Serbian Macedonia after the retreat of the Bulgarians and the conclusion of the armistice and witnessed as he progressed from village to village the "hell" work committed by the Bulgarians during their occupation.

The one-sided report of this commission has been largely exploited by all interested in its special purpose—viz, the damage of Bulgaria—especially during her long and enforced isolation from the outside world, while she has been unable to utter a word in her own defense. Mr. Gordon-Smith still

lays great stress upon this report. He totally disregards the fact that Bulgaria, after being made the victim of similar reckless charges following the second Balkan War, appealed for an impartial inquiry, and that that noble institution, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, heard this appeal, and appointed an international commission to ascertain the truth, and that this commission made an exhaustive report ("the report of the International Commission to Inquire Into the Causes and Conduct of the Balkan War"), the main conclusion of which was that, so far as atrocities were concerned, the conduct of the Bulgarians, as compared with that of their allies, *was the least reprehensible*.

I would further point out that this Professor Reiss who accompanied Mr. Gordon-Smith on his expedition of inquiry has been and still is a paid Serbian agent, the organizer of the secret Serbian police, and that he is one of the main propagators in the foreign press of calumnies against Serbia.

The charges that Bulgaria acted treacherously both toward her own allies and toward the Entente are absolutely unfounded; the facts, on the contrary, point wholly the other way, so far, at least, as Bulgaria's allies are concerned. The Bulgaro-Serbian Treaty of 1912 provided that the occupied Turkish territories should fall under a condominium. Serbia unblushingly violated this clause even in the districts cleared of the Turks by the Bulgarian forces. The exigencies of the war demanded that these forces proceed to join the main Bulgarian forces pitted against the main Turkish armies defending Adrianople and Constantinople. In the rear of the Bulgarian Army the Serbians closed the Bulgarian schools, expelled the Bulgarian Bishops, and administered as Serbian even the territories recognized by the treaty as incontestably Bulgarian. This treaty bears the date of Feb. 29, 1912.

The Serbian Minister of Foreign Affairs sent out a circular, dated May 23 of the same year, to the Serbian representatives abroad, in which he instructed them to bear in mind that Serbia had no intention to abide by the frontiers fixed by this treaty, and that they would have to be extended southward.

While the Bulgarian Army was exerting

all its resources to keep in check the Turkish forces—ever increasing in numbers and growing in desperation at Chataldja and Boulair, on the Gallipoli Peninsula—the Serbian Army was at complete rest. Secretly it was building and occupying fortifications with which to dispute eventually the rights the treaty gave Bulgaria. Serbia furthermore concluded a secret offensive treaty with Greece against Bulgaria on May 5, 1913.

Bulgaria did attack the Serbians on June 29. It was an attempt, after the failure of the deceitfully protracted negotiations, to occupy the territory the treaty gave her. A question, familiar to all American readers, may here be asked: Was the first shot fired in Lexington held responsible for the war which followed?

It is absurd to talk of treachery, as Mr. Gordon-Smith does, on the part of Bulgaria against the Central Powers. Bulgaria had the uncontested right of choice. She had no sympathy with the Central Powers; her sympathies were naturally with Russia and her allies. As Italy and Rumania made their bargains for joining the Entente, so Bulgaria tried to make hers. She failed, not for lack of good-will, but because the Entente diplomacy, dominated in this case by that of Russia, refused the very reasonable minimum satisfaction demanded by Bulgaria—the abrogation of the Bucharest treaty of 1913. Bulgaria blundered by taking, as she believed, the shortest cut toward securing the reunion of her race, frustrated by the treacherous coalition of her former allies and the Bucharest treaty. She joined the Central Powers solely for this purpose, moved by disappointment in the failure of her negotiations with the Entente.

Mr. Gordon-Smith stoutly asserts that Rumania, having failed in her demand for rectification of frontier, mobilized and marched against Bulgaria. Rumania demanded no rectification; what she asked was cession of Bulgarian territory, and this at the suggestion and entreaty of Serbia and Greece, already united against their leading ally, Bulgaria. Right or wrong, Rumania did receive satisfaction. The Conference of the Ambassadors in St. Petersburg awarded Rumania the fortress town of Silistria, with some territory. Rumania accepted the award, and a mixed commission was fixing the new frontiers when war

broke out between the allies. Rumania joined in it by invading undefended Bulgaria, undoubtedly encouraged by Russia, who wished to see Bulgaria defeated.

Mr. Gordon-Smith's insinuations, accusations and reckless statements against Bulgaria are too many for me to deal with in their entirety. One and all, they are of the same character. I will say a word as to Bulgaria's endeavor to elude the execution of the peace treaty of Neuilly. How can she, how dare she think of such a possibility, disarmed as she is, surrounded as she is by neighbors who are like hungry wolves, waiting to fall upon their defenseless prey? Mr. Gordon-Smith is exasperated at Bulgaria's organization of compulsory labor. Serbia—the hungry wolf at the door—wished to see in this organization military power and raised a clamor of protest. The competent in such matters, the representatives of the Powers, have not looked at this organization with the eyes of the Serbians, and have allowed the law to stand.

"The National Library of Belgrade was carried off to Sofia and its priceless volumes and manuscripts reduced to pulp," says Mr. Gordon-Smith. The statement is untrue. On the evacuation of Belgrade this library was brought to Nish, and there abandoned on the capture of the place by the Bulgarians. The Bulgarian authorities immediately took steps to store it in a safe place, out of the war zone, and transported it to Sofia. In Sofia a special building was rented, and the books taken out of their mouldy cases and arranged on shelves. After the armistice a Serbian commission of professors made inquiries as to the existence of this library; believing it to be destroyed, in whole or in part, they had already calculated the amount they would claim as compensation.

Their surprise was great to find the library in the best possible order and condition. They had counted too much upon the "lack of culture" of the Bulgarians, supposedly incapable of appreciating literary wealth.

This library has been restored to the Serbians—by a commission presided over by a superior officer of the French military mission in Sofia—complete and uninjured; 67,029 bound and unbound volumes in 159 cases. The calumny against Bulgaria, however, has been repeated ad nauseam, and never once refuted by the Serbians. Why should they attempt to do so? To refute one calumny would require the refutation of so many. Not doubting that this slander was carried also to the Carnegie Endowment Fund for Peace, I obtained, a short while ago, certified copies of the reports drawn up on the occasion of the return of the library. These documents are now lodged in the offices of the Carnegie institution.

One last word about the Bulgarian prisoners of war in Serbia, not those taken by the Serbians themselves, but the 12,000 prisoners delivered over to them by the French command as part of the common war booty. I can refer only in passing to the atrocious treatment by Serbia of these war prisoners, in complete violation of the provisions of The Hague Convention. There are still some hundreds of these men held in bondage in various places in Serbia, employed in *corvée* labor, and deprived of all communication with their native land.

Serbia is the ally of the great conquerors; Bulgaria, disarmed and humiliated, is without remedy and cannot even secure the execution of the clauses of the Versailles Treaty which are favorable to her.

P. M. MATTHEFF.

Sofia, July 28, 1921.

DEMANDS OF THE BLACK RACE

THE Pan-African Congress held in London toward the end of August, 1921, was attended by various peoples of African descent in the United States, the West Indies, Central and South America and Africa. At the session of Aug. 29 a manifesto was read by Secretary William E. Burghardt du Bois of New York, which declared it to be "the duty of the world to assist in every way the advancement of

backward and suppressed groups of mankind," and protested against the treatment of colored people as uncivilized. It argued that the experiments at self-government attempted in Haiti and Liberia by the pure blacks, and in South America by the democracies of mixed blood, had been successful, and on this it founded a demand for general negro enfranchisement in white countries on the basis of educational qualification.

A GREEK DEMOCRAT DEFENDS CONSTANTINE

To the Editor of Current History:

After reading N. J. Cassavetes's article, "The Case of Constantine and the Allies," published in the September number of *CURRENT HISTORY*, one gains the impression that its author regards himself as being conversant with facts concealed from the average Greek. And yet the documents he invokes have been used on so many occasions that they are literally "worn out." Says he: "These facts are well known to the world. Only the Greek people have not been allowed to know them." Surely he knows that the Greek Venizelist newspapers have devoted most of their space during the last three or four years—since the first Constantine-Venizelos disagreement proper—to these so-called documents and to the inexhaustible Venizelist arguments.

I speak as an independent, non-Constantinist, non-Venizelist Greek—a democrat. One may be a democrat without denying justice to a man, even though he be a king. What should be remembered above all is that Constantine has never had a fair trial.

Constantine, appreciating Germany's military organization, predicted a long war without victory, a prediction which would very probably have been realized had America not gone to the aid of the Allies. Since no one then felt confident that America would ultimately participate, Mr. Venizelos was obviously rash in advocating Greece's entry into the conflict. Later, when Serbia was attacked by Bulgarian troops, Mr. Venizelos felt that under the Greco-Serbian treaty of alliance Greece was obliged to go to Serbia's assistance. Constantine held that the object of the treaty—common action against Bulgaria, in case of attack on either of the allies—had been attained since the second Balkan war (1913). Of course, if, in reality, the Greco-Serbian treaty placed an obligation on Greece to go to Serbia's assistance, Constantine deserves the condemnation of every moral person. The evidence presented by Mr. Cassavetes, however, has not convinced many of us Greeks of the Greek King's guilt so far as the treaty is concerned.

Mr. Cassavetes's contention that Constantine "ordered the royalist troops at Athens to open fire upon French and Italian detachments" is a bold assertion. Every Athenian knows that neither the King nor the Government of Greece was in any way responsible for the attack upon the allied troops. The free, independent, proud Greeks resented the invasion of their capital by foreign troops, as any people with a sense of pride would have resented invasion, or even the mere presence of foreign troops in their capital. An American citizen, knowing how difficult it is to control a mob, will readily understand the Greek Government's position. The fact that most of the persons involved in the conflict wore the uniform of the Greek soldier does not render Constantine responsible for their conduct.

Another charge against Constantine is that he accepted moneys from Germany. Were Mr. Cassavetes as well informed on the Greek question as the average Greek, he would not have touched upon the question of the German loan, since that has been settled satisfactorily for the then Greek Government by the Venizelist courts. After trying the Government which negotiated this loan, the court of Mr. Venizelos decided that there was nothing treasonable or even illegal in this Greco-German transaction.

But the greatest argument against Constantine is the surrender of Fort Rupel to the Bulgars, the enemies of the Allies. Indeed, this may be a proof that Constantine was pro-German. It is well, however, to remember that prior to the surrender of this Macedonian fortress Saloniki, another part of Greece, was occupied by allied troops. Among others questioned by the defense counsel was Nicholas Politis, Minister of Foreign Affairs in Mr. Venizelos's Cabinet and formerly a professor of international law in a French college. Mr. Politis was forced to admit that the landing of allied troops at Saloniki constituted a violation of Greece's neutrality. The surrender of the fortress to the Bulgars, then,

was made evidently for the purpose of neutralizing the effect of the allied landing at Saloniki.

Mr. Cassavetes is mistaken in believing that the Greek people have not been allowed to know the facts. On the contrary, it is the foreigner, not the Greek, who has been denied information. But even should we admit that Mr. Venizelos's defeat at the polls and Constantine's triumphant election were due to the ignorance of three-fourths of the Greek voters, to what should we attribute the anti-Venizelism of four-fifths of the members of the bar of Athens, the cream of the country's intellect? To what should we ascribe the anti-Venizelism of the Medical Association of Athens, manifested by their triumphant election as their President of Professor Gheroulanos, whom Mr. Venizelos had expelled from the Athenian University and exiled? How does Mr. Cassavetes explain the verdict of Greece's larger and more enlightened cities

—Athens, Saloniki, Piraeus, Patras, &c.? Mr. Cassavetes would have the allied and American Governments refrain from recognizing the present Government of Greece in order to drive the Hellenic people to overthrow it and establish a republic. He seems to forget that a form of government forced upon a people cannot be regarded as democratic, whatever it may be called. It is not the name but the substance that counts. The Greek people with Constantine in power enjoy their liberty much more than they did under the "Liberal" Party's Government.

Let me say in conclusion that my object is not to defend the King of the Hellenes, but rather the good judgment of the Hellenes themselves. It may be that Constantine was guilty of all the moral crimes ascribed to him, but the evidence presented so far surely is not conclusive.

EFTHYMIUS A. GREGORY.

Aiken, S. C., Sept. 1, 1921.

A DEFENSE OF VENIZELOS

To the Editor of Current History:

From the tone of the letter written by Efthymius Gregory, and published in your June issue, it would seem that the writer strangely misunderstands the spirit of Venizelism. He also shows a surprising lack of historical perspective. The present Greek Government is composed of all the unhealthy political elements of Greece, all striving to establish political ascendancy under the banner of a despot King who believes that he derives his prerogative not from the people, but from the Deity alone. Exercising that divinely authorized prerogative, he dismissed Venizelos early in the war and put in his place another more subservient to the royal will.

It is a well-established fact that the opponents of Venizelos exploited the ignorance of the rural population, and made an unfair use of certain cases of internal maladministration which occurred during the long and necessary absence of Venizelos abroad, when he was fighting for Greek national aspirations at the Paris Peace Conference. The Constantinists regained power regardless of the country's best interests, and they did it by means more dishonorable than

those which Cicero denounced in a letter to his friend Atticus, flagellating the political corruption of his time.

The whole conflict between the Venizelists and the Constantinists is one between democracy and monarchy. Venizelos fosters no animosity against King Constantine personally, but he stands diametrically opposed to the returned monarch's theory of the divine right of kings. Venizelos and his adherents interpret monarchy rationally as merely a civil institution established by the nation for the benefit of all its members. The Greek Tories look upon the King as the delegate of Heaven, exempt from all responsibility. The difference is radical and insurmountable. This outworn interpretation is bolstered up today in Greece by a portion of the clergy, just as Bossuet in the Grand Siècle, identified with the reign of Louis XIV., preached the divine right of kings. All serious study of history, starting from the Pharaohs, shows the fallacy of this interpretation.

This is not the first time that the Greeks have exiled their best and noblest. Heracitus, the famous philosopher of ancient days, said of the Ephesians: "The Ephe-

sians would do well to hang themselves, every grown man of them, and leave the city to the beardless youths, for they have cast out Hermadetus, the best man among them, saying: 'We will have none who is best among us; if there be any such, let him go elsewhere, and among others.' So the Athenians exiled Aristides, solely because they were weary of hearing him called "The Just." And so, vexed at Venizelos's greatness, the modern Greeks have cast him out.

Venizelos lives in exile, and his adherents are enforcedly acquiescent, for the star of Constantine is again in the ascendant. But the Venizelists await the day of regeneration. Above the squalid details of factious strife their ideals survive. "We are all Greeks," wrote Shelley. The Venizelists, who think only of the welfare of all the Greeks, say the same today.

CONSTANTINE V. TOUNTAS.

St. Louis, Aug. 22, 1921.

WHAT MACEDONIA DESIRES

To the Editor of Current History:

Greek propaganda through the Christian Science Monitor and other periodicals continues to affirm that the Macedonians have had no national conscience and care nothing about the question of their nationality. They try to represent that Macedonian nationalism is an artificial movement and that it matters to the people there but little whether the world call them Bulgarians, Greeks or Serbians. The purpose of these writers is to lay a foundation for Greek imperialistic projects, and their statements are contrary to the proved facts. They have asserted, for instance, that Mr. Brailsford, a well-known authority, thinks the Macedonians are a mob without political aspirations or national conscience. This is an unscrupulous falsification. Witness these passages, written by Mr. Brailsford immediately after the insurrection against the Turks in 1903, when he visited Macedonia:

The first surprise was that this race revolted en masse. The second surprise, in my opinion more touching than the first, is that all the sufferings of the last Autumn did not kill its spirit and did not produce any reaction whatsoever against the committee or its leaders. More than one hundred villages, of which several were relatively rich, were reduced to ashes. Sixty thousand families lost not only their homes but all their property. I doubt whether they were able to save one-tenth of their cattle and sheep, of their plows and horses. Besides, there were murder and devastation. Neokazi, Armensco, Mokreni, Kroushevo, Smerdeshe, Dambemi and Kossinetz are the names of some of the villages in which hundreds were killed, without participating in the struggle.

In many villages one may meet insane unfor-

tunates. And in spite of all this lesson before them, the villagers remain faithful to the organization which plunged them into such misery. Among the ashes of burned villages or in the rooms of hospitals where the said organization takes the wounded women and children, there were moments when one was inclined to curse the entire revolutionist idea, to think that no provocation could justify a population which exposes its breast to such a risk, to doubt whether a certain gain of freedom could compensate for the physical torture endured for its acquisition. But these can be only reflections of an outside person. Similar reflections seldom penetrate into the heads of the Macedonians themselves. One could hear no blame, no attacks against the committee, no sorrow for the evidently lost forces. Sick men, slowly recovering from sufferings, wounds, privations, spoke cheerfully of their future plans and of the struggle they looked forward to renewing as soon as their health and the Spring came. * * * *The more one studies the Macedonian Bulgarians, the more he respects their patriotism and heroism.* * * *

The Serbian movement is a purely official agitation, guided and financed in Belgrade, whereas, despite the sympathy of Sofia, the Bulgarian Revolutionary Committee is a genuine organization.

Let me cite some official Greek documents on the subject. In March, 1915, when the greater part of Macedonia had already passed under Greek rule by virtue of the treaty of Bucharest, the Commander of the Eighteenth Greek Infantry Regiment, stationed in Seres, reported to the Commander of the Sixth Greek Division that the men of which his regiment was composed were "not only Bulgarophones (Bulgarian speaking), but pure Bulgarian in their soul and conscience to such an extent that it represents a real danger."

I do not pretend to predict whether or not the great powers will correct the injustice they did at the Peace Conference in not creating an autonomous Macedonian State; I merely wish to call attention to the fact that the deep national consciousness of the Macedonians remains, and that, even in face of the brutal force of Serbian and Greek rule, they will yet have the political independence which they desire. The propagandists are representing the Macedonian people as good Serbian and Greek subjects at a time when all the Greek and Serbian papers are printing daily evidence to the contrary. The sole purpose of those who are misrepresenting the facts is to defend Greek imperialistic aspirations. Greece may truly be said to be the paramount cause of the war in Asia Minor and of the

whole dangerous situation in the Near East today.

Macedonia is determined to be an autonomous State, and will be some day, because her people are ready to make fresh sacrifices to gain their independence. Today Macedonia calls upon those who are ruling her to cease their violence against individuals, their robbery of property, their infringement of the primary rights of life and liberty; she demands that they reopen the schools and churches, fulfill the obligations of the peace treaties protecting the rights of the ethnic groups, and permit refugees to go back to their homes.

CONSTANTINE D. KOJOUHAROFF,
Member of the Bulgarian National Scientific,
Historic and Geographic Societies.
1412 Massachusetts Avenue, Washington, D. C.,
Aug. 30, 1921.

THE ANGLO-JAPANESE ALLIANCE

To the Editor of Current History:

The article by Professor Koehn in the August number of *CURRENT HISTORY*, entitled "Menace of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance," resting as it does on a plain misinterpretation of the treaty between England and Japan, ought not to be allowed to pass without correction. The text of the treaty, as quoted by Professor Koehn, states that it is "by reason of unprovoked attack or aggressive action," and when "either high contracting party is involved in war of defense of its territorial rights or special interests mentioned in the preamble of this agreement," that the other high contracting party "will at once come to the assistance of its ally." It is self-evident that in the case of an attack on the United States by Japan, England would not be bound to assist Japan, and, even if Japan were attacked by the United States, it would be for

England to decide whether the attack had been "unprovoked" or whether it involved "the defense of the territorial rights or special interests mentioned in the preamble." It is clear that the treaty does not work automatically, as Professor Koehn assumes, and that if England went to the aid of Japan when she was attacked by the United States it would be because England considered the action of the United States as "aggressive and unprovoked." To say of the treaty that "it explicitly places upon England the obligation to go to war against the United States in the event of hostilities between the United States and Japan" is an inexcusable misinterpretation of the text of the treaty.

FRED MORROW FLING,
University of Nebraska (Department of History).
Lincoln, Neb., Aug. 13, 1921.

IN FAVOR OF LARGE TYPE

To the Editor of Current History:

Permit me to express a hearty Amen! to the change in type introduced in the August issue of *CURRENT HISTORY*. This type can be read without magnifying glasses, and to one who takes the time and trouble to read

a considerable portion of your splendid magazine it is quite a saving to the eyes.

J. EUGENE HARLEY,
Dept. of Political Science (and International Relations), University of Southern California.
Los Angeles, Cal., Aug. 22, 1921.

JAPAN'S KOREAN POLICY DEFENDED

To the Editor of Current History:

I have read your magazine continuously for more than four years, and have appreciated its fairness, in general, in treating different countries; but lately I have seen various articles about Japan with which I disagree, especially the one in the August issue by George L. Koehn. Mr. Koehn says that Japan had long cherished designs against Korea, entirely omitting to mention the encroachment of Russia, who had just gobbled up Manchuria and the Liao-tung peninsula, with Port Arthur, and was on a fair way to take over Korea, thus becoming a deadly menace to Japan. That country, in order to exist, had to declare war. As regards Korea, with the worst burlesque Government in the world, Japan dragged her out

of the mire, washed her and literally knocked self-respect into her. Look at the enormous improvements in the country, which are rather scantily treated in your magazine; as for the alleged cruelties done to the Koreans, many of those stories are garbled, and some are just plain lies. (See the book about the Far East by Charles H. Sherrill.) I could dig up enough history of the last fifty years to fill a good-sized book, all about indignities and cruelties done by European States to the Far Eastern nations. Why is it a virtue that European nations possess enormous territories in Asia, while it is a crime for Japan to possess land contiguous to her own shore for her own safety?

ROBERT ERICKSON.

25 South St., New York, Aug. 24, 1921.

BRITAIN'S WIRELESS CHAIN

AT Leaffield, England, on the crown of a rolling upland, fifteen miles from Oxford, the first link of a gigantic wireless chain, reaching over many seas and even to the other side of the world, was inaugurated with appropriate ceremonies on Aug. 18, 1921, by the British Postmaster General and a selected party of officials. British-built from the boilers to the Poulsen arcs, it sends into the air a bed stretching without interruption between England and Cairo sixteen powerful alternating currents which can be picked up within a radius of 2,000 miles. The transmitting wires are hung on ten masts each 300 feet high. Two messages were sent out on the day of inauguration. The first was addressed to all British Empire wireless stations, announcing the completion "of this, the first station of the imperial wireless chain," and voicing the hope "that the station will help to knit still closer the bonds which bind together the different parts of the empire." The second message sent greetings to all European stations and other foreign stations in range,

and expressed the empire's desire that this new wireless link should strengthen the ties of international friendship.

The first replies began to come in only a few minutes after the messages were sent out. Acknowledgments were flashed from the French Under Secretary of Posts and Telegraphs and from Malta. The German Reichspostminister sent friendly congratulations from Berlin. Answers came from Posen, Budapest, Christiania and other stations.

The Leaffield station is the first of four; the second is to be at Abu Zabal, Cairo; a third in East Africa, and a fourth in South Africa. Two other twin stations are to be erected in England and Egypt, and through arrangement with the Imperial Wireless Telegraphy Committee are to be continued to Mesopotamia, India, Singapore, Australia and Hongkong. Soon it will be possible to broadcast large volumes of news to India. The commercial value of the wireless system also is considered as an asset of high importance.

ITALY'S ANTI-HAPSBURG PACT WITH JUGOSLAVIA

Text of the treaty binding the two nations to oppose armed force to any Hapsburg who tries to regain the throne—Document that defeated ex-Emperor Charles

THE treaty of peace and reconciliation between Italy and the new State of Yugoslavia was signed at Rapallo, Italy, on Nov. 12, 1920. By this compact the long and dangerous dispute over Fiume and a part of the Adriatic coast was brought to an end by setting up Fiume as a free State; the whole boundary between Italy and Yugoslavia was fixed, and the relations between the two countries were established on an amicable and sound basis.

Not until the end of June did Italy decide to publish the negotiations which led to the signing of this treaty. This publication revealed that at the time the Rapallo compact was signed there was also signed a separate and supplementary treaty whose object it was to supervise the strict execution of the Treaty of Saint Germain (with Austria) and the Treaty of Trianon (with Hungary), to maintain the present status quo in Central Europe, and to combine against any future attempts of the Hapsburgs to effect their own restoration to the thrones of Austria and Hungary. The compact declares that the contracting parties will watch every activity directed against their common security either on Austrian or on Hungarian territory, and that this agreement shall be communicated to Czechoslovakia, between which country and Yugoslavia a similar compact had already been signed.

The efficacy of the compact was seen at the time of ex-Emperor Charles's recent attempt to seize the Hungarian throne. It is generally understood that it would be invoked again in case Austria should insist on union with Germany in defiance of the prohibition of the Treaty of Saint Germain. The text of this specific anti-Hapsburg agreement reads as follows:

In order to secure the blessings of peace, obtained at the price of such great sacrifices through victory over the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, the Government of his Majesty the King of Italy and the Government of his Majesty the King of the Serbs, Croats and

Slovenes have determined to agree to the present convention and to this end have delegated:

On behalf of the Italian Government, the Cavaliere Giovanni Giolitti, President of the Council of Ministers; Count Carlo Sforza, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Professor Ivanoe Bonomi, Minister of War;

On behalf of the Serb-Croat-Slovene Government, M. Milenko R. Vesnitch, President of the Council of Ministers; Dr. Ante Trumbitch, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and M. Costa Stojanovitch, Minister of Finance, who have agreed as follows:

Article 1—The two contracting Governments mutually engage to keep a watch over the strict execution of the Peace Treaties of Saint Germain and Trianon. In particular they will adopt all measures of policy by common agreement calculated to prevent the restoration of the House of Hapsburg to the throne of Austria and Hungary.

Article 2—The two contracting Governments engage to give one another such mutual diplomatic support as they judge to be best adapted to this end.

Article 3—In accordance with the spirit of the present convention the two contracting Governments engage at the same time to keep a watch upon all activities directed against their mutual security, both on Austrian and on Hungarian territory, and to keep in close touch by means of the exchange of information.

Article 4—The Italian Government (which has learned with satisfaction of the agreement established between the Serb-Croat-Slovene Government and the Czechoslovak Government, the aims of which are exclusively those of the present convention) and the Serb-Croat-Slovene Government will communicate the present convention to the Czechoslovak Government.

If fresh agreements of the same kind are concluded, the two Governments will confer before ratifying them.

Article 5—The present convention shall remain in force for two years after the exchange of ratifications. It shall be renewed for the same period if it has not been denounced six months before its expiration.

Article 6—The present convention shall be ratified as soon as possible and the ratifications shall be exchanged in Rome.

(For Italy) GIOVANNI GIOLITTI,
C. SFORZA,
IVANOE BONOMI.

(For Yugoslavia) MIL. R. VESNITCH,
DR. ANTE TRUMBITCH,
COSTA STOIANOVITCH.

Rapallo, Nov. 12, 1920.

POLAND'S MILITARY ALLIANCE WITH RUMANIA

Text of the treaty signed at Bucharest on March 3, 1921, by the terms of which the two nations pledge help to each other in defending their present boundaries

THE Polish Diet, on July 1, 1921, ratified the defensive and offensive military alliance with Rumania, signed at Bucharest on March 3. By this agreement, each of the two contracting nations pledged itself to come to the aid of the other in case of any attack from a third nation on its eastern frontier. Though not specifically stated, this alliance was directed against the possibility of any sudden onslaught from Bolshevik Russia, on the one hand, and from Bulgaria, on the other. All alliances with other nations, excluding those signed by either nation for the execution of the peace treaties, must previously be submitted to the other contracting party. Poland expressed her cognizance and approval of Rumania's previous agreements to secure the execution of the Treaty of Trianon (with Hungary) and Neuilly (with Bulgaria), Rumania of Poland's compact with France. The terms of the Rumano-Polish alliance were placed before the Diet, and went through the usual three readings, after which, despite the opposition of the Socialist members, the treaty was approved and ratified. The text is as follows:

The Chief of the Polish State and His Majesty the King of Rumania have resolved to safeguard and confirm the peace which has been won through such great sacrifices, and have agreed to conclude a convention regarding a defensive alliance.

For this purpose plenipotentiaries were appointed by the Chief of the Polish State, his Minister of Foreign Affairs, Prince Eustace Sapieha, and by His Majesty the King of Rumania, his Minister of Foreign Affairs, Take Jonsescu, who, after reciprocally communicating their full powers in the prescribed manner, have determined on the following convention:

Article 1.—Poland and Rumania engage to give one another mutual support if either Power should be attacked on its present eastern frontier without provocation. If, accordingly, either of the two Powers should be attacked without provocation on its flank, the other will declare

war and give armed assistance to the Power attacked.

Article 2.—In order thus to facilitate their peaceful efforts both Governments engage to act in concert in those questions of foreign policy which concern their neighbors on the east.

Article 3.—The manner of giving assistance in case of need shall be agreed upon in a military convention. The said military convention shall be agreed upon subject to the same conditions regarding duration and denunciation as the present alliance.

Article 4.—If, in spite of their efforts, both Powers should find themselves in a position of armed defense, as anticipated in Article 1, they engage mutually that neither will enter into negotiations, or sign an armistice or peace, without the other.

Article 5.—The anticipated duration of this convention shall be five years from the date of signature, but either of the two Powers shall have the right to denounce it after two years if an agreement shall be reached between the parties to that effect six months previously.

Article 6.—Neither party will conclude an alliance with a third Power without having previously reached an understanding in the matter with the other party. The only case in which this condition shall not hold good is in connection with any alliance that serves the purpose of maintaining the peace treaties which both Poland and Rumania have signed. Such alliances, nevertheless, shall be reciprocally communicated.

The Polish Government hereby declares that it has been informed of the conventions which Rumania has concluded with other Powers to guarantee the Peace Treaties of Trianon and Neuilly, and that these conventions may be transformed into formal alliances. The Rumanian Government declares that it has been informed of the convention between Poland and the French Republic.

Article 7.—The present convention shall be communicated to the League of Nations, in accordance with the Peace Treaty of Versailles.

Article 8.—This convention shall be ratified and the instruments of ratification shall be exchanged in Bucharest as soon as possible. To this end the plenipotentiaries have signed this convention and enclosed the authentication of their plenary powers.

(For Rumania) TAKE JONESCU.

(For Poland) E. SAPIEHA.

Bucharest, March 3, 1921.

THE TERRIBLE FAMINE IN RUSSIA

Fifteen million people threatened by death, which the aid of the whole world can avert only in part—Tales of horror officially confirmed by Moscow—America the only country to which the Soviet leaders have given a free hand

ALL rhetoric pales before the grim realities of the famine that is ravaging Russia. Competent American observers now admit that the situation, far from being exaggerated, is even more terrible than was at first reported. The new official famine paper, *Pomoshch* (Help), published in Moscow, printed reports at the end of August from the Volga provinces giving a picture of human suffering almost too horrible to contemplate. The entire lower Volga basin, the region through which flows the Don River, and the districts along the lower courses of the Dnieper and Bug Rivers, were all stricken. Men, women and children were dying by thousands in Astrakhan, Samara, Saratov, Kazan, Ufa, the Don Cossack region, Kuban, Taurida, Kherson, Ekaterinoslav, and parts of Voronezh, Tambov, Penza and Kharkov—a region representing a total area of 600,000 square versts, a population of 13,000,000 peasants and 2,000,000 townspeople.

The conditions in Saratov, and especially in Samara, are appalling. Horrible descriptions of people dying like flies from the eating of offal, grass, wood bark, melon rinds, clay and other substitutes for food would seem incredible were they not officially confirmed by the Soviet Government reports. Cholera is raging; there are no hospital facilities, no medicines, no food relief in sight for weeks, perhaps even months, to come. Some Russian and international authorities estimate that, even allowing for outside succor, 1,000,000 people are doomed to perish. Others estimate the probable deaths at twice that number. Thousands are passively awaiting death. Others, panic-stricken, are fleeing they know not whither, vainly seeking relief. Many who had thus trekked to the east and southwest have returned, despairing, to die in their own homes. Words fail to describe the gigantic nature of the Russian catastrophe.

The Soviet Government has issued proclamation after proclamation seeking to lay the fundamental blame for this vast national calamity on the seven years of war forced on Russia by the capitalist nations. Compelled to call on those nations for help, they have not failed to voice deep suspicion of the motives of the bourgeois world in offering such aid. The voicing of distrust has been frequent in the Soviet press since the despairing cry of Maxim Gorky and the appeal of Archbishop Tikhon echoed around the world. Of the Allied Council's proposal to send an investigating committee made up of allied experts into Russia to ascertain how great the disaster was, what the Government itself was doing to alleviate it, and what additional help would



(Harris & Ewing)

COLONEL WILLIAM N. HASKELL
Appointed to supervise the famine work of the
American Relief Administration in Russia

be required, the Soviet leaders were especially suspicious. Charges that the Allies, especially "imperialistic" France, were hatching new counter-revolutionary plots to overthrow the Bolshevik rule were repeated ad nauseam. When Maxim Gorky's non-partisan relief committee was formed, the Bolsheviks boasted that, out of regard for the welfare of Russia, they had accepted even the assistance of their factional enemies. Early in September, however, the Moscow dictators dismissed this committee, on the ground that its members were seeking to go abroad, and that the Soviet enemies outside the Russian boundaries were striving to use it as a political lever to oust the Soviet from power.

The international scheme sponsored by Dr. Nansen, who has long headed the activities of the League of Nations to repatriate war prisoners from Russia, to bring strictly European aid to the starving Russian people, was received by the Soviet with less suspicion, but, despite his best efforts, Dr. Nansen was unable to gain the consent of the dictators to autonomous distribution of the supplies contemplated. All the international Red Cross and relief committees centred in Switzerland, under this scheme, were to distribute supplies for the immediate present, and also to send to Russia the seed necessary before the end of September if a like calamity were to be avoided at the next harvest. Though the Soviet leaders welcomed this offer, they returned to Nansen's pleas for a free hand an unshakable "No!"

The eyes of the Bolshevik Government were turned most hopefully toward the United States. When, in answer to Gorky's despairing appeal, Secretary Hoover pledged the support of the vast relief organization with which his name has long been identified in Europe, a flame of joy ran through political and what remains of intellectual Russia. The Soviet leaders consented in advance to the conditions which Mr. Hoover, backed by President Harding and Secretary Hughes, imposed. The American political prisoners were freed. The American organization was pledged full co-operation by the Soviet authorities, and was promised unreservedly the free hand in distributing food on which Hoover insisted.

The formal agreement between Walter

Lyman Brown, the American representative, and M. Litvinov, a high Soviet functionary, was reached at Riga after some considerable discussion, on Aug. 19. All Litvinov's attempts to force the United States to give up its insistence on independent distribution proved fruitless. Cables sent from Washington in reply to Mr. Brown's messages showed that the Harding Administration was adamant in this regard. The United States would help, help powerfully, but it had no intention to be made a catspaw or a point of leverage to bolster up the tottering Soviet régime. Whatever food supplies it sent it would see personally delivered to the suffering victims. Confronted by this unshakable determination, Litvinov yielded. When the agreement was concluded he voiced tentative hopes that this would lead to other agreements with the United States. Mr. Brown, in replying, was careful to emphasize the fact that the relief measures to be carried out would be strictly activities of a private, non-governmental organization.

Ships were chartered, food trains from Riga were put in motion, the American relief organization was perfected. Mr. Brown estimated that 8,000 tons of food could be secured by the organization in Europe. Colonel Haskell, the American officer who headed Armenian relief in 1919-20, sailed from New York with a considerable staff on Sept. 3. It soon became clear that the United States had no intention of wasting time in talk. The invitation of the allied organizations to participate in a conference to be held at Geneva on Aug. 15 to discuss the whole situation, and decide how co-ordination could best be obtained, was virtually declined by Secretary Hoover in a note sent on Aug. 10 to the former President of Switzerland, M. Ador. The gist of Mr. Hoover's argument was contained in the closing words of this note: "Generally it appears to me that co-ordination of distribution can be practical only after actual contact with the situation in Russia, and that this step cannot be taken to any purpose without a prior and immediate knowledge of what resources can be relied upon."

This sentiment, of course, was that which prompted the allied council to send its wireless message to Moscow proposing the dis-

patch of a committee of investigation, the main difference being that relief would wait on a protracted report, while Hoover was getting his relief machinery into immediate action. For investigating committees, as such, the Soviet leaders have long shown a very particular aversion. Although Secretary Hoover understood clearly that co-operation with the relief organizations of Europe was desirable, he was hampered by the fact that Nansen had not been able to gain the free hand in delivery and movement which the Moscow leaders had accorded to the American organization. Dr. Nansen's whole arrangement with the Soviet authorities brought on his head much criticism, and he was accused of playing into the hands of the Red leaders.

In order to lightning-rod home criticism from its own head, the Soviet Government, through its leaders, asserted that in accepting foreign aid it had no intention of yielding any of its rights of sovereignty. Litvinov had tried strenuously to put through a proviso maintaining the Soviet's right to expel any member of the American organization caught in any political, anti-Bolshevist activities. The American Commissioner had declined to consider this. Colonel Haskell, however, just before sailing from New York, declared that the object of the American Relief Administration was purely humanitarian, and that he would rigorously control the actions of his personnel. He himself, he stated emphatically, would expel any member who sought to supplement this humanitarian work by political activities.

Meanwhile 20,000 tons of food had been ordered in the United States. President Harding and his Secretaries held an official conference in Washington to discuss the energetic launching of the American campaign. In a letter sent out by the President co-ordinated effort through a single organization was urged. Food was already moving from Hamburg, and over eighty carloads had been sent into Russia. Soup kitchens had been established in Moscow. The Soviet, on its part, published a detailed account of its own efforts to alleviate the distressing situation (Aug. 11). A Central Soviet Famine Relief Commission had been created to direct all relief activities. (The

non-political famine commission, headed by Gorky, of which this proclamation boasted, has since been dissolved, as related above, and some of its members arrested.) The Volga area had been freed from the food tax on an estimated total of 1,000,000 tons, which was being diverted to feeding the urban population. A special committee to care for the famishing, sick and dying children had been established. Special measures had been taken for the evacuation of "fugitives"—meaning the former inhabitants of Western Russia, who had fled before the Germans to the Volga district, and who were now frenziedly trying to return to their original homes.

The Soviet report did not mention the evacuation of many Letts, who reached Latvia in a deplorable state of hunger, disease and sorrow, owing to the fact that a considerable number of the men had been left behind to perish. Nor did it mention the former prosperous German settlers in the Volga region, who, like many refugees from Turkestan and other Eastern Russian districts, had fled before the grim horseman trampling all before him. In rags and filth, these refugees huddled in the stations, waiting for relief or death.

The problem is a formidable one. As Lloyd George pointed out in the Paris conference at the end of August, the whole disaster is almost too gigantic to control without a very great international effort. According to reliable British advices, no fewer than 35,000,000 people are stalked by the grim spectre of famine and pestilence. In the House of Commons the British Premier pointed out the danger that epidemics beginning in Russia might sweep all Western Europe, decimating populations too exhausted by war to resist them. The seriousness of the situation could not, he declared, be overestimated. The British, French and Italian representatives had all agreed upon this, and had appointed an international, not an interallied, commission to study the best methods of alleviation. But for this the co-operation of the Soviet authorities was necessary. Up to the time when these pages went to press, there was little probability that the Moscow dictators would consent to the admission of any such commission on the terms which the interallied Ministers demanded.

POLAND AND THE VILNA SETTLEMENT

Poles and Lithuanians agree on the administration of the former Lithuanian capital—Warsaw's anxious waiting for the decision of the League of Nations on Upper Silesia—Danzig Treaty and pacts with Rumania and Czechoslovakia

[PERIOD ENDED SEPT. 12, 1921]

VILNA, the former capital of Lithuania, over which the Poles and the Lithuanians have come to blows repeatedly since 1919, has now ceased to be an object of strife between the two peoples. The settlement of this dangerous problem was effected at Geneva, where Polish and Lithuanian representatives had met in one last, almost despairing effort to find a solution, on the morning of Sept. 1. The decision represented also a triumph for the League of Nations, under whose auspices the negotiations had been dragging on since September, 1920.

The dispute arose out of a declaration of the Supreme Council on Dec. 8, 1919, provisionally establishing the frontier between Northeastern Poland and Lithuania. After the armistice with Germany, the Lithuanian Government had established itself at Kovno. The Russian Bolsheviks, however, still retained and occupied Vilna. From the former Lithuanian capital the Bolsheviks were later driven out by the warring Poles. In July, 1920, Poland recognized the Statehood of Lithuania, but in the same month the Poles were driven out of Vilna by the returning Reds. The latter permitted the dispossessed Lithuanians to re-establish their Government in Vilna. Furthermore, the Russians concluded a treaty of peace giving Lithuania part of the territory accorded to Poland by the Allies on Dec. 8, 1920.

Serious armed clashes occurred in the following month, when the Poles tried to drive the Lithuanians back of this line and out of Vilna. In September the dispute was taken up by the League of Nations, which decreed that the 1920 line must be observed—but only provisionally—by the Lithuanians. These proposals were accepted, and a commission was assigned by the Allies to put

them in force. In November, 1920, however, General Zeligowski, at the head of an army of Polish insurgents, occupied Vilna and set up there a Provisional Government to make Polish possession permanent.

Several attempts to patch up a working agreement failed, Lithuania obstinately refusing to give up Vilna, and Poland as obstinately refusing to yield this predominantly Polish territory to Lithuania. Zeligowski remained in Vilna and refused to evacuate, in defiance of the Lithuanians, the Entente and even Poland herself. The Lithuanians openly charged the Polish Government with aiding and abetting Zeligowski in this d'Annunzio-esque adventure, and Lloyd George, the British Premier, at the time of his outburst in Parliament over the Korfanty uprising in Upper Silesia, said virtually in plain words that he believed this. The Polish Government has systematically denied its responsibility either for Zeligowski or for Korfanty. Be that as it may, Poland has long been anxious to regularize the status of Vilna, and for this reason she gladly accepted new offers of mediation by the League. This mediation, however, was not offered until it had been plainly shown that the holding of a plebiscite was impossible, for the simple reason that neither the Poles nor the Lithuanians wanted the issue decided on this basis. The League then proposed a settlement by direct negotiation. Representatives of the two nations met in Brussels under the Presidency of M. Paul Hymans, a prominent member of the Council of the League, to find a *modus vivendi*. The opposing views, however, proved to be irreconcilable, and the negotiations were again broken off. The success of the new discussions in September, 1921, was joyously hailed by both

countries, each of which has made sacrifices for the sake of ending the long turmoil between their respective peoples.

It was later stated (Sept. 12) that both Lithuania and Poland had accepted the new League plan under reservations. There was some obscurity as to the exact terms of the agreement. The decision that Zeligowski must evacuate was definite. A local militia was to be created for police purposes; whether this force was to be of Polish, Lithuanian or mixed composition was not stated; but the implication was that the Lithuanians would retain nominal sovereignty, while granting the Polish majority equal rights.

The former East Prussian Port of Memel was delivered outright to the Lithuanians, though the Poles were given access to the sea in this direction. Lithuania's foreign policy was to be independent, but she was to sign no foreign treaty harmful to Polish interests. A defensive military convention was to be negotiated.

With this important question of boundaries settled Poland continued to look hopefully to the League Plebiscite Commission and the Entente leaders for a settlement of the still more dangerous dispute with Germany over Upper Silesia. At Paris the entente cordiale between France and Great Britain had almost been shattered by this question. The British Premier, supported by Italy's representative, favored the allocation of most of the rich mining area in the southeast to Germany; France urged the claims of her protégé, Poland. Wholly unable to agree, Lloyd George, facing a rupture, suggested that the dispute be referred to the League of Nations; thus it came about that the League Council, when it met again in September, faced this new problem. At the present writing it is still unsettled and threatening. The Germans contend that possession of the Upper Silesian mines is absolutely essential to their national existence. The Poles say the same regarding their nation. Ethnical statistics are wielded by both sides with patriotic fervor. The plebiscite vote is a tangled affair. If the League unravels that, it will do more than the Entente Premiers could compass.

The Poles meanwhile reached an agreement with the Free City of Danzig; save

for two or three points to be referred to the League of Nations, this agreement establishes friendly relations between Poland and the city republic. The negotiations at Danzig were completed by Aug. 15. M. Plucinski, the Polish commissary, arrived in Warsaw a few days later, accompanied by Senator Jewelowski, a member of the Danzig Diet. Both negotiators explained to the Polish press the difficulties that had been facing them for many months. The only points left outstanding were the administration of railways, the legal status of Polish officials on Danzig territory, the status of the Polish merchant marine in Danzig, and the reimbursement of moneys expended by the Free City.

Poland's foreign relations, taken as a whole, are developing satisfactorily. The foundation of a commercial rapprochement with Czechoslovakia had been laid before the departure from Warsaw, toward the middle of August, of M. Hotowetz, Minister of Commerce for the neighboring republic. Both Poland and Rumania looked with satisfaction on the offensive and defensive treaty which linked the two countries. Rumania through this entente gains security for her eastern frontier. Statements made by M. Take Jonescu, the Rumanian Foreign Minister, indicate that Poland contemplates entering the so-called Little Entente, composed at present of Rumania, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia.

Though technically Poland is at peace with Soviet Russia, the Warsaw leaders are still hostile to the Russian dictators. Causes of friction still exist, especially due to Poland's harboring of organizations hostile to the Soviet Government. Poland, however, is showing deep sympathy for the famine sufferers of Russia. The Pilsudski Government has voted to extend to the Russian Government, purely from humanitarian motives, all the aid that it can offer, and has pledged itself to transport relief supplies coming from the west over the Polish railway lines free of all costs or charges.

The Witos Cabinet collapsed Sept. 12. Stanislaw Glabinski, Professor of Political Economy in the University of Lemberg, was named as the new Premier. The Witos Cabinet fell because of dissatisfaction with foreign conditions and with the home economic situation.

EMIR FEISAL CROWNED KING OF IRAK

Enthronement of King Hussein's son at Bagdad the occasion of rich Oriental ceremonies—Reward of the Arab chief who helped the British armies against the Turks

[PERIOD ENDED SEPT. 12, 1921]

EMIR FEISAL, third son of the aged King of Hedjaz, was crowned King of Irak at 6 A. M. on Aug. 23, in the great court of the Serai in Bagdad. After his nomination by Lord Allenby at the Cairo conference, the strong recommendation given him by the British Colonial Secretary in the House of Commons, and finally the referendum vote of the people of that region of Mesopotamia round about Bagdad (called by the Arabs "Irak"), the Emir's elevation to the throne had become one of the few certainties in the Near East. The coronation took place before a large assembly, and was made the occasion of elaborate ceremony.

Shortly before the appointed time the Emir left his residence, accompanied by Sir Percy Cox, the British High Commissioner for Mesopotamia; the General Officer Commanding in Chief, Sayid Mahmud, eldest son and representative of his Highness, and the Naqid, President of the Provisional Council of State, who had been Feisal's chief unsuccessful rival for the throne.

As the Emir mounted the dais the immense throng rose to acclaim him, the First Battalion, Royal Berkshire Regiment, presented arms, while brass instruments, both English and Arab, raised a musical din. Then the High Commissioner took his seat at the Emir's right hand, with the British General on his left and Sayid Mahmud next to him. The Secretary of the Council of State read in Arabic the proclamation of the High Commissioner announcing the election of the Emir Feisal by the people of Irak and ending with the phrase: "Long live the King!" Then there was more shouting, with blasts from trumpets and a long roll on the drums of the English battalion; the national flag was broken out over the dais and a royal salute given by the military present and a salute of

twenty-one guns by the British artillery. Simultaneously royal salutes were fired at Mosul and Basra, and the national flag was displayed on all public buildings and over camps and garrisons.

Sayid Mahmud read an address of loyalty from the Council of State and the Naqid swore his loyalty. At the end of the ceremony, which lasted scarcely half an hour, the High Commissioner handed the new King the following personal message from King George:

I offer your Majesty my sincere congratulations on this historic and moving occasion, when by an overwhelming vote of the people of Irak the ancient city of Bagdad has again become the seat of an Arab Kingdom. It is a source of deep gratification to myself and my people that the combined military effort of the British and Arab forces and those of their allies has culminated in this memorable event. The treaty which will shortly be concluded between us to consecrate the alliance into which we entered during the dark days of war will, I am confident, enable me to fulfill my solemn obligations by inaugurating an era of peace and renewed prosperity for Irak.

GEORGE R. I.

The new kingdom embraces the former Turkish vilayets of Basra and Bagdad, together with part of Mosul on the north. It has an area of 140,000 square miles, with a population of nearly 2,000,000.

According to the same official sources which designate the new King as the third son of King Hussein, his age is given as 36 years 4 months. He was born in Hedjaz while his father was assistant to his uncle, who was then Grand Shereef. His youth was passed at Hedjaz and with the Arabs of the desert, imbibing from them that knowledge of tribal lore which has helped him to gain and keep the good-will of the tribes. When still a boy he went to Constantinople and there pursued his general education. When his father, Hussein, succeeded his uncle on the latter's death,

Feisal went with him to Hedjaz and gained an insight into tribal administration both in peace and war.

Elected to sit in the Turkish Chamber of Deputies, he became the leader of the Arab Nationalist Party, which then had its headquarters at Damascus. When Djemal Pasha was appointed Governor of Syria in 1914 he practically forced Feisal to accompany him and used him for his influence over the Arabs. He was practically a prisoner, and having learned that Turkey intended to side with Germany in the war and also that an order of execution had been issued against himself, he managed to escape in disguise and returned to his father at Mecca. The information he brought decided his father to declare his independence of Turkey and greatly strengthened the cause of the Allies among the Arabs.

Colonel Lawrence, who was then negotiating with Hussein, soon recognized Feisal's abilities, while on his side Feisal gave his entire confidence to Colonel Lawrence, and it was principally due to the alliance of the two that the Arab Army was able to play so brilliant a part in the Palestine-Syrian campaign. At the end of the war, when the various Entente powers received their mandates under the Treaty of Sèvres, the Arab Congress at Damascus elected Feisal King of Syria. From this position he was soon after ejected by General Gouraud, the French High Commissioner. He then placed his case before the chancelleries of Rome and London, and at the latter, where he sojourned from December until last April, he so impressed every one with his statesmanlike views that he finally secured the support of the British Government.

Considering the parlous times which then prevailed throughout Mesopotamia, it was fortunate for the British Government that Feisal was willing to support it. What the French did not care for the British were glad to possess. Too late the former regard the accession of Feisal as a great loss of prestige by France. Some Paris papers, in commenting upon the coronation at Bagdad, regard it as a distinct menace to French interests in the Near East, contrived for that purpose by Downing Street, overlooking the fact that many statesmen believe that England is merely making a merit of a stern necessity.

Feisal, who had been told at Downing Street to make his claim good by quieting the Arabs in Mesopotamia, reached Basra on June 23, and opened the political campaign which has now turned out so successfully for him. This campaign, the story of which is still the chief piece of news in the papers of the Levant, and even of Moslem India, forms a curious contrast to a Presidential campaign in the United States; in the East ceremonials, a display of



EMIR FEISAL

Arab Prince who has been crowned King of Mesopotamia

wealth and debates on erudition take the place of talks on political expediency.

At Basra Feisal's reception was not enthusiastic, and so, after a few tactful speeches, calculated to provoke favorable discussion, he went on to Bagdad via the Euphrates Railway, visiting Hallas, Nejef and Kerbala en route. At the Holy Places he aroused some quiet enthusiasm.

At Bagdad the British High Commissioner prepared great festivities. There were three days of rejoicing; banquets followed banquets, with diplomatic receptions attended by all foreign representatives; only France was conspicuous by her absence.

Meanwhile, through the skillful work of the High Commissioner and his able corps of Moslem assistants, municipal delegations began to arrive in Bagdad, the most important being from Mosul and Dulaim. These were followed by the Sheiks of the tribes. Soon Feisal began to be acclaimed as King, an honor he quietly accepted, stating, however, that the voice of the people had not yet been fully heard. So they began to acclaim him with more noise. At Dulaim Liwah, at Fahad Bey Al Had Hadhdhal, at Ramadi and at the Oases of the Fallujah Desert there were strange festivals in

which automobiles and Arabian chargers were curiously mingled, as was the powder play of the ancient flintlocks and magazine rifles.

The greatest festival of all was toward the end of July at Ramadi, where Feisal was received by Mutesarrif and Sheik Ali Sulaiman, with the local forces drawn up in modern style to do honor. Here there was a great durbar tent on the banks of the Euphrates, and here Feisal made his most effective speech, punctuating his logic, which was wholly practical, with beautiful figures of speech. He represented himself as merely the messenger of the British Government, whose power was infinite on earth. In that character all the notables paid him homage. According to native accounts, the light, color and beauty of the festival, which was carried on throughout the night under the bright stars of the desert, could be likened only to the scenes pictured in the "Arabian Nights." Then Feisal returned to Bagdad, where the voting of the Council of State and then the referendum, which ratified the vote, took place. The coronation is said to have surpassed even the splendors of the days of Haroun Al-Raschid.

PERSIA'S RAGE AGAINST ENGLAND

[PERIOD ENDED SEPT. 12, 1921]

THE pessimistic speech on Persia made by Marquis Curzon, the British Foreign Minister, in the House of Lords on July 26 (quoted in September CURRENT HISTORY, Page 1069), aroused a storm in the press of Teheran. The reaction of the Iran and the Star of Persia was especially violent. Earl Curzon, in this statement, had intimated that, since the new Teheran Government had denounced the Anglo-Persian Treaty, and had, furthermore, allied itself with Moscow, Great Britain would henceforth wash its hands of Persia. The Teheran press was exasperated that Lord Curzon should describe himself as an old friend of Persia, declaring that he opposed Lord Grey's policy toward Persia merely because he coveted the latter's portfolio of

Foreign Affairs, and gave vent to a bitter attack on Lord Curzon's own policy attack on Lord Curzon's own policy, initiated as soon as he gained possession of

A part of this attack embraced the administration of the British financial adviser appointed by Lord Curzon—Mr. Armitage-Smith—whom the Star of Persia compared with his American predecessor, W. Morgan Shuster, much to the disadvantage of the former. Mr. Shuster, the paper declared, was a servant of the Mejliss (the elected National Assembly), honored and trusted by all Persians, and expelled in 1911 by a harsh ultimatum, which was the joint work of England and Czarist Russia. The Star of Persia continued thus:

Lord Curzon himself admits that the Anglo-Persian convention is invalid with-

out ratification of the Mejliss. Why, then, did he send a financial adviser without this ratification, and send him back when he returned to England, and still urges him upon Persia, when Persia does not desire him?

The Star of Persia is incensed that Lord Curzon should pretend that England saved Persia in the great war, when the British attempted to use Persia as a battleground, after Persia had declared her neutrality, just as Germany had used Belgium. And as to the Soviet danger, everybody knew that the troops of Lenin would never have invaded the country had it not been occupied by British troops. The writer adds:

Lord Curzon thinks we are the tool of an alien because the Cossack division is now officered by Persians, whereas if it had British officers he would call it a national force. We are not such fools that we do not know our friends and cannot tell the difference between a treaty signed with Russia, from which, Lord Curzon threatens us, we shall ultimately suffer, and the English treaty, which was an instrument of English colonial policy, and would have destroyed our independence forthwith.

Many Americans sympathize with Persia and still deplore the methods used by the British Foreign Minister, then Sir Edward Grey, in 1911, to get rid of the efficient Mr. Shuster. The latter had done economic wonders in Persia and was so beloved by the Persians that they were willing to die for him. A further statement of the Persian reaction to British methods may prove interesting. First, because the Wilson Administration was opposed to the Anglo-Persian Treaty (when Lord Grey came here in 1919 as British Ambassador he was not received at the White House), and, second, because this is the first time that the Persian case has been so fully set forth. The Star of Persia says:

England, by the Convention of 1907, the ultimatum of 1911 [ousting Mr. Shuster], the Convention of 1919 [the Anglo-Persian Treaty], the formation of the South Persian

Rifles [a corps organized in direct opposition to the Constitution], the dispatch of Mr. Armitage-Smith, the covering of Persian with Indian troops, the obstruction of reforms and foreign loans, and by the action of the British authorities in Persia, made the Persian Nation understand that the English Government is not interested in promoting Persia's greatness and strength, and wants to make Persia a second Egypt for the development of its colonial policy.

The English Government wants Persia to have an organized army, but under British officers, like the South Persian Rifles, and subject to the commands of the Government of India.

It wants Persia to have sound finances, but, like Egypt, under English Government supervision and with English advisers as administrators.

It wants Persia to have railways, but will not permit a concession to any foreign company except the English, or to any international association.

It wants Persia's mines developed, but, like the Ahwaz oil, this must be done only by English companies, so that it may keep control over the Persian Government's expenditures. And it welcomes a revision of customs tariff, provided this favors British imperial trade.

These are the views of the English Government, whose Secretary of State says no Western power has worked so disinterestedly to revive the life and greatness of any Oriental country. The Persian Nation, with cordial thanks, declines this disinterestedness, these efforts for such a revival and such a life. It desires to maintain friendly relations with the Durbar of London, and not be the dangerous tool of Britain's enemies, but it will not pledge all its economic resources to Britain. It desires that the doors of its riches shall be open to all nations, and wishes to interest the commerce of all in its economic development.

It is only necessary to add that, by the genius of Mr. Shuster, Persia was in a fair way to realize all the advantages enumerated above, by her own efforts, when in January, 1912, she was obliged to choose between his going and war with Great Britain, and Persia was even hesitating over the alternative when Mr. Shuster decided for her by going.

THE GREAT BATTLE FOR ANGORA

Victorious advance of the Greek armies against the Turks, culminating in the battle of the Sakaria River—Lloyd George's frank explanation regarding the attitude of the Allies toward the two combatants

[PERIOD ENDED SEPT. 12, 1921]

THE Greeks and Kemalists by Sept. 10 had apparently fought each other to a standstill within fifty miles of Angora, with the possibility of a limited Greek retirement without any Turkish pursuit. In the first week of August the Greeks had regained all the positions they had been obliged to abandon in April, and had inflicted severe injuries upon the army of Mustapha Kemal, which was then rapidly retreating, having lost in various ways, permanently or for the time being, fully 60 per cent. of its effectives. From Aug. 6 to 15 the Greeks had consolidated their positions and brought up supplies. They then moved in the direction the enemy had taken.

Meanwhile the main body of Kemal's army had concentrated over the line of mountain summits and valleys from a point behind Sivrihissar to Berbazar, on the upper Sakaria River. Thus the enemy had not only strong mountain positions, but also the curves of the Sakaria River as far as its confluence with the Pursak, as his defense. His positions were impregnable, except for one vital circumstance—some of his detachments had retreated along roads which had no communication with the base of supplies at Angora. [For map see Page 33.]

On Aug. 15 the Greeks were occupying the line Mandra (on the Sakaria River)—Kaimaz-Ak Küprü (on the Pursak Su River, seventy miles east of Eskishehr, which is also situated on the Pursak Su, a branch of the Sakaria). Within the next few days three columns of Greeks were on the march, although strong detachments had preceded them. The first followed the line of the Angora Railway; the second moved toward the Sakaria River from Said Ghazl; the third was moving across the salt desert which lies northeast of Afium Karahissar.

In order to understand what took place when these columns came in contact with the Kemalist lines of defense, it is neces-

sary to know the course of the Sakaria River, for its varying path caused many false deductions to be made from the cable dispatches. This river rises in the Emir Dag, about forty miles south of Eskishehr; it flows in a general easterly direction until it reaches a point southwest from Angora and about ninety miles from that city; it then flows north under the Angora Railway and then northwesterly to a point east of Biledjik; and thence in a general north-easterly direction, emptying into the Black Sea, eighty miles east of Constantinople.

The great battle was begun at Gordion, at the confluence of the Sakaria and the Pursak Su, forty-three miles southwest of Angora, on Aug. 18. In the two days that followed, the Turks were driven from their positions. Conflicting reports placed the Turkish loss in prisoners at 4,000 men and 170 officers and the Greek losses at exactly the same figures, but the news, common to both sources of information, that the Turkish cavalry had been annihilated by the column of Greeks which had emerged from the salt desert, seemed to confirm a Greek victory.

From Aug. 21 until the Greeks reached the second line of the enemy's defense on Aug. 23, and then on for eight days, during which there was severe fighting, the only reason for supposing that the Greeks were advancing and the Turks retreating was that with the news of each day's Turkish "victory" there was indicated a place further east than the scene of the "victory" of the day before. No news came from the Greek front, just as no news came from the front of the Allies for long periods during October, 1918, when the pursuit of the Germans was so rapid. From Aug. 23 to 31 the Greeks drove the Turks from their second line and almost succeeded in isolating their left wing.

On Aug. 26 there was a report from Constantinople that the Turkish centre had

been reinforced by two divisions from the Caucasus, making eight in all facing the Greeks on the railway, and that each wing of the Turks, both on the left bank of the Sakaria River, on its northerly course, had four divisions. While the Greeks rested on Aug. 31 for their transport service to reach them on a line forty miles long lying across the Sakaria southeast from Sivri-Hissar, the Turks, in spite of the reinforcements they had received, resumed their retreat and actually succeeded in removing their heavy artillery behind their second line, which had already been occupied by the Greeks.

Fighting was then resumed on the fortified heights north of the Rivers Gheuk and Katranji, on a line deployed by the Turks to between sixty and seventy miles. From these positions the Turks again slowly retired until, in the first three days in September, they were occupying the line Gordium—Polatli—Sarighiol—Karahodja, only fifty miles from Angora.

Then there were rumors of a Turkish flight from the Nationalist capital, but up to the time when these pages went to press the movement for the envelopment of Angora had been held up, as the Greeks were temporarily unable to proceed further, on account of their long and hazardous lines of communication, constantly interrupted by troops of bandits.

In the British House of Commons, on Aug. 16, the Prime Minister made a long statement in regard to the Turko-Grecian problem and the Treaty of Sèvres. He said that when the Kemalist insurrection arose, Venizelos, then Premier of Greece, was for dealing with it at once, but was held back by the Allies. Subsequent events had proved that Venizelos was right. He then explained why the Allies could not "force" both the Nationalist Turks and the Greeks to come to terms, and added, explaining many things of which the world had been ignorant or which it had misconstrued:

There is only one other alternative, and that is to leave both of them to fight it out. Some say we might have referred the matter to the League of Nations. That would have been an unkindness to the League of Nations. How could they have dealt with it? They would only have had the means which the Allies could have placed at their disposal, and there was no allied power which would have sent an army for the purpose of enforcing

ing a decision. Therefore you had to leave both to fight it out. We have not given arms to either of them—not a single gun, rifle or shell. These battles have been fought without any assistance from us either way.

Not only do I think that that was the only course, but I am afraid it is the best course. I will tell the House quite frankly why I think so. One is a reason that applies to the Turks and the other a reason that applies to the Greeks. The Mustapha Kemal Turks undoubtedly had an exaggerated idea of their own prowess. They conquered Asia Minor very easily. They gained some very easy victories in Cilicia, and they had a very exaggerated view of their own prowess and a contemptuous estimate of the Greeks' military capacity. Their realization that they were wrong in both those instances will make them none the worse neighbors for Greeks or Italians or Frenchmen or British. The Turk accepts a fact in the end when it is really driven into his mind. There are Greek enthusiasts, on the other hand, who, I have no doubt, will realize soon that there are limits to what Greek resources, valor and skill can accomplish in the fastnesses of Asia Minor. War has one merit, in that it does in the end teach a respect for facts. I think both these races will be easier to deal with when their own limitations have been brought thoroughly clearly to their minds.

The British Admiralty has officially announced that from Oct. 15 Rear Admiral Aubrey Clare Hugh Smith, C. B., M. V. O., will be lent to the Greek Navy as chief naval adviser. Before the war he was attached to the Admiralty and to various embassies abroad; during the war he served first in command of the cruiser Drake and then as Commodore on the South American and Pacific Station.

There are increasing signs that all is not well diplomatically between Moscow and Angora. The Turks, according to complaints of the Russian Foreign Commissioner to Ali Fuad, Turkish Ambassador at Moscow, have been ill treating communists, have even executed some. An authentic copy of Ali Fuad's explanation to the Commissioner, dated Moscow, June 22, 1921, has come to hand. In it is the following passage:

The official reports which I have from my Government state that the communists are constantly committing serious tactical errors, weakening the Turkish front by attempting a premature social revolution which at the moment the Turkish people do not at all desire, and openly and directly opposing the laws and regulations of the Great National Assembly of Turkey. In view of such action,

I do not see how the action of the Turkish officials who apply the law against all trouble makers in Turkey can be misinterpreted. As to the suggestion that the Turkish army was the cause and author of the bloody events at Alexandropol or of the tragic end of some of the inhabitants of that city, it is at least astonishing that officers of the Red army, allied with the Turkish army, should be victims of such inventions and should accept without proof such unfounded stories. It is clear from documents and copies of documents at the headquarters of our eastern army, some of which come from

the communist organizations of Alexandropol and some from neutral institutions such as the American institutions, that all the victims referred to were sacrificed by the counter-revolutionaries when they refused to obey while the Turkish army was still far from those regions. As to the incidents at Kars and at Artvin, the data furnished by the Turkish Government indicated that they amount merely to a few perfectly legal arrests of persons who made themselves agents of our enemies by seeking to stir up discord between the two peoples of Turkey and of Russia.

ENGLAND'S UNEMPLOYMENT CRISIS

Great industrial depression weighs upon the nation—Borough Councilors go to jail to save money for the local poor—Greatest airship disaster in history—Forty-four men killed by collapse of the giant American dirigible, ZR-2

[PERIOD ENDED SEPT. 12, 1921]

IN checking up the British industrial depletion through sickness and disablement, as covered by the eight-year period 1913-1920, since the National Insurance act went into effect, a recent Government report showed that on the average there were at least 14,065,941 working weeks lost every year. This total was made up of men, 8,916,000 weeks, and women, 5,149,941 weeks. During the year before last the Government paid out to sick and disabled persons £7,089,784. As pointed out by a medical expert, the foregoing figures signify that there is a constant loss of work in Great Britain of 270,000 persons. That, however, is but an item in the larger bill. For not only does the employer lose in the sickness itself; he loses on the sick man. At present this loss may not be computed, because there is no means of estimating it.

Upon this point, however, the medical expert goes on to say in effect that if firms would observe the fluctuations of their output in relation to the sick-absence of their work people, information of a most valuable kind would be available. In one instance in which an attempt was made to keep figures it was found that the absence of a good worker cost a definite sum each week. This was accounted for in part by the diminished skill of the man replacing him and in part

by the general disorganization resulting from his absence. Thus, even if we put the cost so low as one shilling a worker per annum—an absurd underestimate—we have to add almost a million pounds to the general bill of costs for sickness. The probability is that twice this figure is too small a reckoning. The medical writer expresses the belief that the dead loss to the employers thus amounted to £2,000,000 a year. He therefore urges, in the interest of both employers and workers, that instead of letting the worker go to the physician when sickness falls upon him, as at present, the employers should invite local physicians to inspect their workers periodically, inasmuch as the great mass of disease which cripples industry is preventable.

In the field of labor a downward revision of wages from the high peak ran between 12½ and 15 per cent., according to figures presented by Trade Commissioner Hugh D. Butler, stationed in London. Where the earnings of the workers had not been reduced by at least such amounts, further cuts at some specified date were generally in prospect, or there was an agreement to reconsider the matter soon or later. The shipyard joiners were reported to be an almost solitary exception to the disposition of all trades to accept wage reductions by

agreement with employers, thus terminating the disastrous strike period through which the country had recently passed.

A serious condition of unemployment, however, continued to prove its existence by startling incidents. For instance, the response of 5,000 unemployed men to an advertisement in the newspapers for help in a lumber yard resulted in a furious riot when it was discovered there were only fifty jobs vacant. The mob of disappointed applicants wrecked the company's office and sheds, and in some manner the whole yard caught fire. Mounted and foot police finally drove the idle men out of the yard, but the best efforts of the firemen were powerless to save a loss which ran into millions of pounds.

Connected with the unemployment problem also was the decision on Aug. 31 of thirty labor members of Poplar Borough Council of London to go to prison rather than obey an order of the High Court requiring them to raise rates to pay the call of the London County Council dealing with education, drainage of roads and other services for the whole of London. Their decision was based on the ground that they were heavily burdened with the maintenance of the poor and unemployed in this, one of London's poorest districts, and they declined to saddle the borough with anything further until the laws were reformed which compelled each borough to provide for its own poor, a burden which the rich districts escaped.

On Sept. 3 and 4 considerable excitement attended the arrest of nineteen refractory Councilors, among whom was George Lansbury, editor of *The Daily Herald*, the national labor organ. On the 5th a great demonstration was staged in support of five women Councilors who elected to follow their male colleagues to jail rather than impose more taxation on the borough for money due the London County Council. Immense crowds accompanied the arrested women Councilors to the doors of Brixton Prison.

Decontrol of the railways of Great Britain and Ireland took place on Aug. 15 after seven years of administration and operation by the companies under the control of the State. So vast are the administrative and financial changes that have

taken place in those seven years that it is certain under the present cost of operation there can be no return to the pre-war level of rates, either as to passenger or goods traffic, if there is to be any margin of income for their owners. Decontrol of the consumption of beer, wines and spirits in Great Britain was scheduled for the end of the month by the passage of the Licensing bill through the House of Lords on Aug. 17. Regulation will again be by act of Parliament, not by the unpopular Orders in Council.

A preliminary report on the census of 1921 gave the population of Great Britain on June 19 as 42,767,530, an increase of 1,936,134, or 4.7 per cent., over the figures of 1911. This was the smallest increase recorded in any decade for 100 years. One legacy of the war is the preponderance of females over males. For England the figures showed 16,984,987 males and 18,694,443 females; Wales, 1,098,133 males and 1,108,579 females; Scotland has a surplus of more than 180,000 females. In all there are 1,906,000 more women than men in the United Kingdom. No Irish census was taken in 1921. London remains the largest city in the world, with a population of 7,476,168. Birmingham is second in the British Isles with 919,438 persons, Liverpool third and Manchester fourth.

GREAT AIRSHIP DISASTER

An airship disaster of unparalleled magnitude occurred over the City of Hull on Aug. 24, at 5:45 P. M., when the giant dirigible ZR-2, purchased by the American Government, suddenly collapsed high in the air. The vessel was on a final test trip before being delivered to her American crew for navigation to the United States, when she was seen from below to break in two. This appalling spectacle was followed almost instantly by explosions and the bursting of the airship into flames.

As the vessel began a nose dive, watchers fled in panic to the shelter of the houses, fearing the burning airship would plunge into the centre of the business district. But by an act of heroism on the part of her commander, Captain A. A. Wann, this additional disaster was avoided, and the airship was steered so that it fell into the Humber River. Three members of the

crew, who had descended by a parachute, made a safe landing, and two others, including Captain Wann, were subsequently taken off the wreck. These were found to comprise all the survivors from a crew of 32 British and 17 Americans—49 in all. None of the Americans was saved.

Among the British officers who lost their lives, General E. M. Maitland was regarded as a leader in aviation. The names of the American officers on the ill-fated ZR-2, as officially given out in Washington on Aug. 25, were Commander Louis H. Maxfield, Lieut. Commander Valentine N. Beig, Lieut. Commander Emery Coil, Lieutenant Charles

G. Little, Lieutenant Marcus H. Esterly and Lieutenant Henry W. Hoyt. The cause of the disaster was said to have been a structural weakness.

The ZR-2, the greatest of airships, was 695 feet long, 85 feet in diameter and had engines of 2,100 horsepower and a cubic capacity of 2,700,000 feet. The cruising radius, at fifty miles an hour, was 9,000 miles. The vessel was originally known as the R-38, but her name was changed by the American Navy Department when the purchase was agreed upon at \$2,000,000. The ZR-2 was to have been housed at Lakewood, N. J., in the largest hangar ever built.

FEELING THE WAY TOWARD IRISH PEACE

Gradual progress toward agreement between Lloyd George and Eamon de Valera through the exchange of many notes—New negotiations at Inverness—Ulster refuses to be bound by any decisions made by the other two parties in the controversy

[PERIOD ENDED SEPT. 12, 1921]

PUBLIC attention in Ireland was almost wholly centred upon the peace negotiations, which mainly took the form of a lengthy exchange of notes between Eamon de Valera, the Irish Republican leader, and Premier Lloyd George. A reading of this correspondence showed not only that each note was written with extreme care but also that more than one betokened the united effort of several minds. Again, while both sides found themselves in positions of determined opposition, at the outset both appeared equally averse to making an impassable barrier to a final settlement. But in the background of this controversy there was always the determination of the Northern Parliament of Ulster to stand upon its newly acquired rights as independent of whatever agreement might be reached between the Dail Eireann and the British Government. In other words, Ulster flatly refused to be drawn into any present plan to satisfy Sinn Fein aspirations for a United Ireland.

This peace correspondence, of undoubted-

ly great historic importance, properly began with a long letter from General Jan C. Smuts, Premier of South Africa. It was dated Aug. 4 and indicated that the former South African rebel, and the elected President of "the Irish Republic," to whom the letter was addressed, were upon terms of personal friendship. General Smuts was about to sail for South Africa, and he began by expressing his regret that he could do no more to remove the impasse which had been reached by Mr. de Valera and Sir James Craig, the Ulster Premier. He found that the question of Ulster's coming into a United Ireland Constitution was as firmly insisted upon by Mr. de Valera as it was rejected by Sir James Craig. While General Smuts believed that it was to the interest of Ulster to come in, yet such was her opposition that he advised leaving her alone for the present, and to concentrate upon a free Constitution for the remaining twenty-six counties. Once this was successfully established, he thought economic and other forces would eventually pull Ulster into

that State. The remainder of General Smuts's letter was indeed an eloquent plea for the Irish leaders to be guided by that same political light which had brought South Africa from out her period of national stress to become "a happy, contented, united and completely free country."

On Aug. 14 three notes were given to the public, disclosing the positions taken up by Mr. de Valera and Premier Lloyd George at the outset of the negotiations. First, the original British proposal for a settlement, dated July 26. It began with the declaration of an earnest desire "to end the unhappy divisions which have produced so many conflicts," and expressed the belief that "the Irish people may find as worthy and as complete an expression of their political and spiritual ideals within the empire as any of the varied, numerous nations united in allegiance to his Majesty's throne." Such consummation was desired not only for the welfare of Great Britain and Ireland, but for peace throughout the world. To this end it was proposed that Ireland assume forthwith the status of a dominion, with all the powers and privileges as herewith set forth. Briefly, in addition to dominion status, Ireland should have autonomy in taxation and finance, with her own courts of law and Judges, army for home defense, constabulary and police, postal services and all matters concerning education, agriculture, mines, forestry, labor, transport, trade, public health, insurance and liquor trade. Only the British Government laid down these conditions: The Royal Navy alone would control the seas around Ireland, and Great Britain would raise Irish Territorials to conform numerically to the military establishments of other parts of these islands. Voluntary recruiting would be allowed in Ireland for the Imperial Army, Navy and Air Services. No protective duties would be adopted, and Ireland would be responsible for her share of the United Kingdom's debt.

To these proposals Mr. de Valera replied on Aug. 10, after consulting with his colleagues. He reminded the British Premier that at their London conference he had expressed the conviction that the Dail Eireann could not and would not accept the foregoing proposals. He was now compelled to confirm that opinion. He complained that the principle of the pact was not easy to de-

termine, for while Ireland's separate nationhood and right to self-determination were implied, there were stipulations and conditions at variance with the vital principle of independence—"absolute separation." He pointed out that dominion status was an illusory term, since the freedom which the British Dominions enjoyed was not so much the result of legal enactments as of the immense distances which separated them from Great Britain. Regarding the question of the independence of Ulster, Mr. de Valera contended that Great Britain must stand aside in a matter which concerned only the Irish, though if impossible of solution from that point of view he was willing to submit it to extend arbitration. On the whole, therefore, the proposals were rejected, but not without concluding words by way of illumination to the final sentence: "The road to peace and understanding lies open."

Premier Lloyd George's answer to the foregoing was dated Aug. 13. After calling attention to the fundamental differences which had arisen, and the decision "to leave you in no doubt of our meaning," Mr. Lloyd George declared emphatically that no British Government could compromise on the right of Ireland to secede. "No such right can ever be acknowledged by us," he went on. "The geographical propinquity of Ireland to the British Isles is a fundamental fact. The history of the two islands for many centuries, however it is read, is sufficient proof that their destinies are indissolubly linked."

At this point Mr. de Valera was reminded that when he came to see Mr. Lloyd George only one condition was stated, viz.: "That Ireland should recognize the force of geographical and historical facts." Regarding the suggestion that existing differences between the two parts of Ireland might be submitted to foreign arbitration, that was squarely rejected. In conclusion Mr. Lloyd George said: "Our proposals present to the Irish people an opportunity such as has never dawned in their history before. We have made these in a sincere desire to achieve peace, but beyond that we cannot go."

The position of Ulster at this time was disclosed in a letter from Sir James Craig to Premier Lloyd George, after a copy of the British Southern Irish proposals had been forwarded to the Ulster Premier.

After calling to mind the sacrifices made in agreeing to self-government and consenting to the establishment of a Parliament for Northern Ireland, much against their wishes but in the interests of peace, they were now busily engaged in ratifying their part of that solemn bargain. This, "while Irishmen outside the Northern area," who in the past struggled for that Home Rule the people of Ulster did not want, "have chosen to repudiate the Government of Ireland act and to press Great Britain for wider powers. To join in such pressure is repugnant to the people of Northern Ireland." Therefore they respectfully declined to determine or interfere with the terms of settlement between Great Britain and Southern Ireland. He contended Ulster did not block the way to peace. What she could not permit was interference with her Parliament and rights. Consequently no meeting between himself and Mr. de Valera could take place until the latter recognized that Northern Ireland would not submit to any authority other than His Majesty the King and the Parliament of the United Kingdom, and admitted the sanctity of the existing powers and privileges of the Northern Irish Parliament.

On Aug. 16 the Dail Eireann, Irish Republican Parliament, was formally opened in the Assembly Hall of the Mansion House, Dublin. At 11:15 A. M. Mr. de Valera, accompanied by his Cabinet Ministers, the Lord Mayor of Dublin and Frank P. Walsh, entered the densely thronged chamber. Several notable figures were present. The proceedings then went forward with remarkable order and discipline. After a short prayer in Gaelic by Father O'Flanagan, the signing of the roll took place. The oath administered to members read as follows:

I do solemnly swear or affirm that I do not and shall not yield voluntary support to any pretended government, authority or power within Ireland hostile and inimical thereto, and I do further swear or affirm that to the best of my knowledge and ability I will support and defend the Irish Republic and the Government of the Irish Republic, which is the Dail Eireann, against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same, and that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion. So help me God.

After Professor John MacNeill had been elected Speaker, Eamon de Valera, in an address to the House, declared for Ireland that he and his colleagues stood for the ideals embodied in the American Declaration of Independence. He reiterated Ireland's claim to separation from the British Empire, and asserted that the Cabinet of the Republican Parliament was the sole Government the Irish people recognized. Regarding the peace negotiations he said: "The trouble in the present negotiations was the lack of principle on the part of Great Britain to stand for principle, and we mean to die for it, if necessary."

After organization meetings the Dail Eireann went into secret session on Aug. 23 to consider its reply to the British Government's proposals.

Meantime, on Aug. 19, Premier Lloyd George, in speaking before the House of Commons, said:

There is one thing that has been achieved—the issues have been defined more clearly than they have ever been before, and their rejection would be an unmistakable challenge to the authority of the Crown and the unity of the empire. Here we are in the very heart of the empire, and no party in the State could possibly pass that over without notice.

But he protested against using language of menace, for that would be folly, as aggravating the old difficulty. In another place the Premier said: "We have put all our cards on the table. The outline of our offer cannot be altered nor the basis changed."

The first result of the deliberations of the Dail Eireann took the form of a letter signed by Eamon de Valera as a reply to Lloyd George's note of Aug. 13, and sent by a special courier to the British Premier in London on Aug. 25. It was in effect a vigorous repudiation of the British argument of "geographical propinquity" and of the British right that Ireland must subordinate herself to Britain's "strategic interests." The note said in part:

We cannot believe that your Government intended to commit itself to the principle of sheer militarism, destructive of international morality and fatal to the world's peace. * * * If nations that have been forcibly annexed to an empire lose thereby their title to independence there can be for them no rebirth of freedom. * * * If our refusal to betray our nation's honor * * * be made an

issue of war * * * we deplore it. * * * We have not sought war, nor do we seek war, but if war be made upon us we must defend ourselves. * * * If your Government be determined to impose its will upon us by force and, antecedent to negotiations, to insist upon conditions that involve a surrender of our whole national position and make negotiations a mockery, the responsibility for the continuance of the conflict rests upon you.

The note concluded by suggesting that on the basis of the broad guiding principle of government by the consent of the governed, peace could be secured. Dail Eireann was ready to appoint its plenipotentiaries to secure such a peace.

In a prompt reply to this missive on Aug. 26, Lloyd George expressed himself as "profoundly disappointed" by the Irish reply. He categorically denied the Irish contention that the British proposals "involve the surrender of Ireland's whole national tradition, and reduce her to subservience," and declared that under these proposals, on the contrary, "Ireland would control every nerve and fibre of her national existence"—language, religious life, taxation, finance, education, land and agriculture, labor and industry, national health and homes, the maintenance of law and order. Ireland would, in other words, within her own shores, "be free in every respect of national activity, national expression and national development. The States of the American Union, sovereign though they be, enjoy no such range of rights." Great Britain, however, if the Irish insisted on absolute independence and sovereignty, would answer with an emphatic "No!" The conditions were the same as those prevailing at the time of the Civil War in the United States, and the words of Abraham Lincoln, "Physically speaking, we cannot separate. We cannot remove our respective sections from each other now and build an impassable wall between them," were equally applicable to the relation between Great Britain and Ireland.

In conclusion, he expressed willingness to continue negotiations in an attempt to find a basis of agreement, but warned against delay as playing into the hands of the extremists anxious to wreck the negotiations and terminate the truce.

To this letter the Irish Republic Parliament replied by a communication given out

from 10 Downing Street on Sept. 2. Mr. de Valera and the Dail Eireann had not receded in the slightest from the position formerly adopted. They declared that the Government proposals were not an invitation to enter into a free-willing partnership with the nations of the British Commonwealth, but that, on the contrary, the conditions Mr. Lloyd George sought to impose would divide Ireland into two artificial and mutually destructive States. The position of Ulster was thus brought to the forefront. Further, insistence was laid on the entry of plenipotentiaries into a conference untrammelled by any conditions.

The gravity of the resulting situation moved Mr. Lloyd George, taking a vacation in Scotland, to summon a meeting of the British Cabinet at Inverness on Sept. 7. It was recalled that never before had the Ministers been called upon to take such a journey to attend a council in circumstances so unusual.

With unlooked-for celerity the British Cabinet completed its discussions. By 4 o'clock on the afternoon of Sept. 7 the British reply had been handed to Commandant Barton, the Irish courier, and was on its way to Dublin. Couched in earnest, even solemn, tone, the text of the note read as follows:

Government by consent of the governed is the basic principle of the British Constitution, but we cannot accept as the basis of a practical conference an interpretation thereof which would commit us to any demands you might present, even to the extent of setting up a republic and repudiating the Crown.

You must be aware that a conference on such a basis is impossible. So applied, the principle of government by consent of the governed would undermine the fabric of every democratic State and drive the civilized world back into tribalism.

On the other hand, we have invited you to discuss our proposals on their merits, in order that you may have no doubt as to the scope and sincerity of our intentions.

It would be open to you in such a conference to raise the subject of guarantees on any point in which you may consider Irish freedom prejudiced by these proposals. His Majesty's Government are loath to believe that you will insist upon rejection of their proposals without examining them in a conference.

To decline to discuss a settlement which would bestow upon the Irish people the fullest freedom for national development with the empire can only mean that you repudi-

ate all allegiance to the Crown and all membership in the British Commonwealth.

If we are to draw this inference from your letter, then further discussions between us could serve no useful purpose and all conferences would be in vain. If, however, we are mistaken in this inference, as we still hope, and if your real objection to our proposals is that they offer Ireland less than the liberty we have described, that objection can be explored at a conference.

You will agree that this correspondence has lasted long enough. His Majesty's Government must therefore ask for a definite reply as to whether you are prepared to enter a conference to ascertain how the association of Ireland with the community of nations known as the British Empire can best be reconciled with Irish national aspirations.

If, as we hope, your answer is in the affirmative, I suggest that the conference should meet at Inverness on the 20th inst.

The Irish answer to this had been delivered by Sept. 12. Though its text was not officially published, it was understood that de Valera and his associates had accepted the invitation to the proposed conference at Inverness. A new courier was sent from Dublin to Lloyd George at Inverness on this date. The Dail Eireann was already selecting its plenipotentiaries for this all-important conference. Prominent Irish personages mentioned as likely to be selected were Arthur Griffith, Foreign Minister of the Dail Eireann Cabinet, Professor John MacNeill, Speaker of the Irish Parliament, and Commandant Barton, the

former Irish special courier to Lloyd George and a cousin of Erskine Childers, who is a nephew of one of Gladstone's Chancellors. The name of Austin Stack, the Dail Minister of Home Affairs, was mentioned as a fourth possibility.

A strong and emphatic warning was issued by Ulster at this time through Hugh O'Neill, Speaker of the Ulster Parliament, at an address at Ballymena. Mr. O'Neill said in part:

Any diminution of the rights and privileges of the new Ulster Parliament as a result of the projected negotiations, would lead to a bitter civil war in Ireland which would become world-wide. * * * There would be in Ireland a war which would embroil Great Britain and the United States and would spread horror over the earth.

While the long and anxious negotiations were being carried on, the truce which made them possible was being faithfully observed throughout the greater part of Ireland. Factional strife, however, again flamed up in Belfast during the last week of August. Serious rioting occurred on Aug. 21, and again on Aug. 29. On the 31st, with a list of fifteen persons killed and thirty-four seriously wounded and with all signs pointing to a widespread increase of the disturbance, the authorities appealed to the military to take charge of the city. Action by the Crown forces restored outwardly normal conditions by Sept. 1.

CANADA AND OTHER BRITISH DOMINIONS

[PERIOD ENDED SEPT. 12, 1921]

A GENERAL election is to be held in Canada before the New Year. Right Hon. Arthur Meighen, the Prime Minister, made this announcement in an address at London, Ontario, on Sept. 1. The exact date has not yet been stated. In effect the Premier declared that the continuance or rejection of a protective tariff was the issue. He considered the farmers' political movement to be the real challenge to the Government, arguing that the Liberal Party could not be regarded as a serious contender.

The Premier's announcement was somewhat of a surprise to the general public. A census of Canada had been taken in June, and no general election had been expected pending a redistribution bill based upon this census. As matters now stand, the election will be contested on the census of 1911. That the Premier recognized that the question of redistribution was likely to be used in strong criticism of the Government, was indicated in his speech. He said that the rural portion of western prairie Canada would gain by redistribution, but

the Government would lose more in the East than they could possibly gain in the West. The advantage was now with them. He also said that there was no means of redistribution except at the price of holding the country in suspense through very difficult times for eighteen months or so on an issue (protection) that was formidably challenged. It was his contention that the rigors of an election campaign in January or February should be avoided.

At the present time there are seven vacancies in the House of Commons. To fill these, by-elections would have to be held with the knowledge that the life of Parliament automatically expires next year, and a general election would then have to be held. No doubt the Government's decision to hold a general election this Fall was to some extent based on the hope that further losses in by-elections might result in a defeat on a vote in the Commons, thus forcing them into an appeal to the people, instead of giving them the prestige of a voluntary appeal.

The last general election in Canada was held in December, 1917, when a union Government was voted into office by an overwhelming majority. The previous Government, under Sir Robert Borden—since retired from the Premiership—was Conservative. Union Government was effected by the coalition of a number of leading Conservatives and Liberals for the express purpose of putting conscription into effect. Since the end of the war a number of the Liberals have left the Cabinet, which now largely consists of Conservatives. Premier Meighen intends to reorganize the Cabinet before the elections.

Since the coalition, or union, of 1917, two important new parties have made their appearance—the Farmers' Party and the Independent Labor Party. These have a coalition of their own. In constituencies where the rural element is preponderant, the laborites support farmer candidates; in urban centres it works the other way. In the Canadian or Federal field the Farmers' Party is known as the National Progressive Party. In the provinces it goes under the name of the United Farmers of Ontario—or whatever the name of the province is. The farmers have come into power, with the aid of the Labor Party, in Ontario. They

have a strong position in Manitoba, and they have swept Alberta. In all these provinces, and wherever else they are organized, they will turn their votes and influence to the aid of the National Progressive Party in the federal campaign.

The general election will therefore witness an alignment of three parties, counting the farmer and labor organizations as one, namely, the Government Party, largely conservative and led by Premier Meighen; the Liberal Party, led by Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King, and the National Progressive Party, led by Hon. T. A. Crerar. It will be the first general election in Canada in which parties other than the traditional Liberal and Conservative parties, or a coalition of these two, have been serious elements. The Conservative Party, generally speaking, stands for a high protective tariff; the Liberal Party for "tariff for revenue," or a more moderate tariff than that advocated by the Conservatives, while the National Progressive Party is practically for free trade.

AUSTRALIA—Great Britain and her dominions stand before the world as one great Commonwealth as a result of the deliberations of the Imperial Conference, according to an address by Premier William M. Hughes of Australia at a farewell banquet given in his honor in London on Aug. 22. He advocated a protective tariff, so that high wages might be maintained in the British dominions.

Premier Hughes at Amiens on Aug. 25 unveiled a "cross of sacrifice" erected in Bonny cemetery, where thousands of Australian and British soldiers are buried. Later he presented to the city of Amiens a flag sent by Australian mothers in memory of the part played by the Commonwealth's armies in the defense of that city.

An electric line bringing high-tension power from Victoria Falls to Melbourne, a distance of 112 miles, is about to be constructed by the State, the power to be sold for manufacturing purposes. There will be 634 steel towers to carry a current of 132,000 volts. The contract was awarded to a New York firm by the Electricity Commissioners of Melbourne.

Australia has offered a reward of \$125,000 and the State of New South Wales has offered \$50,000 to any one who discovers

petroleum in paying quantities. Thus far the discoveries have been practically negligible.

NEW ZEALAND—An imperial constitution which should include within its scope the United Kingdom and all British dominions was advocated by Lord Milner on Aug. 23 at a farewell dinner given in honor of Premier W. F. Massey of New Zealand, who left England on Aug. 25 on his return home by way of Canada. At Cobalt, Ontario, on Sept. 6, he predicted that the "next war" would be fought with the Pacific as the centre of activities. He favored a renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance.

Sentiment in New Zealand is against the granting of favorable tariff terms to countries such as the United States which impose prohibitive duties on the products of New Zealand; this statement was made in a cable dispatch from Wellington to The London Times on Aug. 18. The question of revising the tariff will come before the next session of the New Zealand Parliament and local secondary industries are pressing for greater protection.

EGYPT—An Egyptian delegation headed by Adly Pasha was in London several weeks, conducting negotiations with Lord Curzon, the Foreign Minister, regarding the political claims of the nation. The conferences were adjourned in August to Sept. 24, when they were resumed. The recent rioting in Alexandria and Cairo was instigated by a lawless element of the lowest classes in those cities and is not regarded seriously. The Egyptians are demanding broadened autonomy and independence. One of the chief obstacles to an agreement is the insistent demand of the Egyptians that the British troops be withdrawn from the country.

BRITISH EAST AFRICA—Deep depression is felt in British East Africa—now known as Kenya Colony—as well as in the adjoining British territory of Nyassaland. The last budget of Kenya showed a deficit of \$800,000. It is now proposed to float a

loan of \$45,000,000, to be spread over three years, for development works. This will be expended chiefly in harbor developments and railroads. The principal exports are coffee, flax, copra and hides. There are 26,000 acres of coffee and 33,000 acres of flax under cultivation. In Nyassaland a railroad is now being built across Zambesi. This road may eventually be extended to link up the great lakes to the waters of the Upper Nile, thus carrying out the design of Cecil Rhodes. The low prices of tobacco and cotton produced a gloomy situation in the colony.

TANGANYIKA TERRITORY (formerly German East Africa)—Work has been begun on the bridge that is to span the Zambesi River at Chinde, the British concession in Portuguese East Africa, which is to open trade with Lake Nyassa and Tanganyika Territory and form a link of the Cape-to-Cairo railroad. This road is finished as far as Salisbury in Rhodesia and the northern end is completed as far as Sennar on the Blue Nile. From Salisbury a branch runs to Beira on the coast, which it follows northeast to the Zambesi. Crossing the river here, it will again strike inland to Fort Johnston, at the southern end of Lake Nyassa, by way of Blantyre. The Zambesi bridge will be the longest in Africa.

UGANDA—One of the pioneers of missionary work in Uganda, Mother Mary Paul of the Franciscan Order, died at Kampala in August, aged 64 years. She had labored there fourteen years. She was Miss Mary Murphy and was born in New York City. She was the first white woman to go to Uganda. Colonel Theodore Roosevelt in his book on his African hunting trip pays a warm tribute to her and describes the mission, which he visited and of which she was Superior.

GOLD COAST—A surprising increase of trade of the Gold Coast is noted in the returns for 1920, the biggest in the history of this British colony, totaling £26,000,000, or £8,500,000 more than in 1919. The chief gain was in imports, which increased 77 per cent.

HOW GERMANY WILL PAY FRANCE

Payment in kind agreed upon in the new Reparations Agreement concluded at Wiesbaden—France to obtain materials for reconstruction on easy terms, and Germany to be relieved of difficult cash payments—Visit of the American Legion to France

[PERIOD ENDED SEPT. 12, 1921]

AT last France has gained assurance that she will receive her reparations due from Germany, and, what is more, that they will be made according to a plan of the most practical character that could be found. By the special agreement with Germany signed at the end of August, Germany bound herself to pay France in kind. The importance of this to France is that the materials to be furnished her by Germany within the next four or five years will enable her to rebuild her devastated provinces in the quickest, least expensive and easiest way possible.

This new compact, which was negotiated by M. Loucheur, French Minister for Reconstruction, and Herr Walther Rathenau, the German Minister of Reconstruction, at Wiesbaden on Aug. 27, brought new hope to the French people, and exorcised the depressing effect of the financial agreements reached by the allied Finance Ministers and experts in Paris on Aug. 17. Under these agreements, to which M. Doumer, the French Finance Minister, subscribed with the utmost reluctance, France received no part of the first \$250,000,000 to be paid by Germany on reparations during the current year. The ground for this apparent discrimination against Germany's greatest creditor was a simple one—both France and Belgium had already received in payments in kind a value considerably in excess of the costs of their occupation forces on the Rhine, while Great Britain had received less than her disbursements. The British deficit, in fact, reached a total of from £25,000,000 to £30,000,000. The French, however, sought to have coal deliveries excepted from the payments in kind, on the ground that the yield of the Sarre coalfields was not immediately realizable, and pointed out that if such exception were made the French themselves would have a deficit to show of some 150,000,000 gold marks, in contrast with the

300,000,000 excess which the Reparations Commission had charged up against her.

Under the Versailles Treaty there was no special provision that coal deliveries should be charged against the first \$250,000,000 payment to be made by Germany. The allied financial experts, however, pointed to the Spa agreement, under which coal was to be charged against this initial payment. They further pointed out that France was exporting and re-exporting coal, and that notes of small denominations were being circulated in Paris bearing the inscription "*Mines de la Sarre.*" All in all, the French Financial Minister got the worst of the argument, and the allied distribution agreed upon by the experts held in France's despite.

The Loucheur-Rathenau agreement, consequently, came as a welcome relief to the French Government, for it embodied a definite and satisfactory solution of virtually the whole reparations issue, so far as France was concerned. It was noteworthy as being in effect a separate treaty with Germany, the first that France has concluded with her former enemy since the end of the war. The meeting at Wiesbaden (Aug. 25-27) between the French and German negotiators was the second held by them within several months. The preliminary basis for this treaty was reached in the first interview. For many weeks M. Loucheur and Herr Rathenau have been working out the details. The draft of the whole compact was submitted to the Reparations Commission early in August, and although it was understood that there was considerable objection from the British side, the commission approved it. With this approved draft scheme in hand, M. Loucheur and Dr. Rathenau made quick work in concluding it. The treaty was signed on Aug. 27. Though a number of details still remained to be finally settled, the main provisions were incorporated.

Under the plan agreed to, France will receive in the next few years materials for reconstruction far surpassing what she would get as the recipient of 52 per cent. of cash, her originally allotted share of German reparations payments. In return for these materials she will be allowed to pay back over a number of years the cash which she is scheduled to receive under these payments. This main project is full of common sense, as it supplies France immediately with supplies which she cannot wait for, and gives Germany a much-needed outlet for her products. The specific terms of the agreement are briefly as follows:

France is given the right to demand up to May 1, 1926, deliveries of material by Germany up to a total value not to exceed 7,000,000,000 gold marks. This sum will be paid back to Germany as follows: Up to 1933, the sum which France must pay in any one year, inclusive of 5 per cent. interest, shall not exceed 1,000,000,000 gold marks. In 1935 and 1936 the balance is to be paid in four semi-annual instalments, payments to be made in any one year not to exceed what France receives as her 52 per cent. of German reparations payments. The agreement further settles a number of other points. The coal price to be credited to Germany is to be that paid by the big German consumers. Any excess materials over that which France finds she needs is to be used by Germany for her own export trade, and the value will be paid by her to France in other deliveries. France agrees not to continue her search in Germany for the cattle driven out of France by the German Army, and accepts in final settlement a delivery of 62,000 horses, 25,000 cows, 25,000 sheep and 20,000 hives of bees. A similar arrangement is to obtain respecting the industrial material stolen from France by the German invaders; Germany is to restore 120,000 tons of machinery as demanded by France, and to pay the latter country 158,000,000 marks in gold. To take the place of French rolling stock removed from France, Germany is to send her former enemy 6,000 railway cars.

The importance of this agreement to France, and also to Germany, is very great. It will eliminate many causes of friction still existing between the two nations. It gives France assurance of payment in the most useful way, and it admits that Germany must pay France in kind, and not in cash—an arrangement highly appreciated by struggling Germany. It does not replace the allied reparations terms, but it makes it far easier for Germany to pay them.

Hailed by both the French and German Governments with a sigh of relief, the

agreement still runs the risk of rejection by both the French Chamber and the German Reichstag. The French leaders expected trouble in the Chamber, but believed that it would pass by a small majority. The Germans also foresaw difficulties with the Reichstag delegates, but the German Government leaders were prepared to present such strong arguments of the advantage which it would bring to Germany that it would be put through. The falling value of the mark, said Herr Rathenau, was so serious as to make it increasingly difficult for Germany to obtain cash abroad, and she would probably be forced to default in her cash payments by next Spring. He expected this consideration would insure the treaty's acceptance.

France still remained highly displeased with the trials of German war criminals before the Leipzig tribunal. This dissatisfaction was voiced at the meeting of the Supreme Council in Paris on Aug. 13. After full discussion, the Council decided to carry out its previously formed intention, announced to Germany in a note of May 7, 1920, of naming a commission to report to the Council the results of these trials and to express its official opinion of the way in which they were carried out; also to present suggestions for future guidance under the articles of the Versailles Treaty referring to war criminals (Articles 228-230.) It was agreed that this commission should be composed of representatives of France, Great Britain, Italy and Belgium, each of these countries to be empowered to send two delegates.

The visit of a delegation of the American Legion to France was made the occasion of many signal honors, dinners and animated speeches on both sides. The primary object of the visit was to present formally to France the statue of Jeanne d'Arc at Blois, donated by Mr. Sanford Saltus, and also to visit the devastated districts, and to make a holy pilgrimage to the cemeteries where America's fallen heroes lie. All Paris turned out to do the Legion delegates honor on Aug. 13. The first thing the Legionaries did was to march to the Arc de Triomphe to pay homage to France's unknown soldier who rests in the shadow of the mighty arch. This act went to the heart of the Parisians, who cheered the Americans with delirious enthusiasm as they marched through the

streets upon this pious mission. The ceremonies at Blois were solemn and impressive. The departure of the Legion from Paris on Aug. 27 was marked by a review of a large parade of the Republican Guard and the Paris police. Major Barney Flood of the New York Police Department presented an American flag from the New York police force to the Prefect of Police. Decorations were conferred on the Legion delegates by President Millerand, who received the American visitors subsequently at his country home in Rambouillet. The delegates left for Belgium the following day.

At a luncheon given the Legion representatives before their departure, Premier Briand announced that the American Gov-

ernment had sent a formal invitation to Marshal Foch to visit the United States in October, and that the Marshal had accepted this invitation, as well as that given by the Legion to attend its annual session in Kansas. This news was confirmed by Marshal Foch in person, in a special visit paid by him to Mr. Myron T. Herrick, the American Ambassador. The Marshal explained that he wished to give this confirmation "by word of mouth," and to express "how deeply touched I have been by this invitation and by the echoes from America of my projected visit." He further said that the visit of the Legion had brought France in closer touch with America than at any time since the conclusion of the war.

GERMANY SUPPRESSES MONARCHISM

Murder of Erzberger unites discordant forces of Republicanism to quell reaction and lay the ghost of Kaiserism—The Government completes payment of 1,000,000,000 gold marks on reparations—Continued business revival

[PERIOD ENDED SEPT. 12, 1921]

SHOT to death in the Black Forest on Aug. 26 by two men, presumably inspired by the campaign of vilification carried on by the German reactionaries, Matthias Erzberger, leader of the progressive elements of the Centrist (Clerical) Party, may go down in history as a martyr whose blood cemented the discordant forces of German Republicanism into a body solid enough to resist the attacks of the Monarchist reaction and lay the ghost of Kaiserism once for all.

The news of Erzberger's murder was the signal for a fierce outburst of partisan political strife, the Socialist, Democratic and Centrist press calling for suppression of the Junker and reactionary Big Business papers, which had been busy stirring up civic strife for many months preceding the crime. The latter defended themselves by reiterating their charges that Erzberger had betrayed the Fatherland, and by pointing to the alleged danger of a communist revolt.

Chancellor Wirth had counted upon the slain Deputy's active support in the coming battle in the Reichstag over the taxation

program, and was one of Erzberger's closest friends and disciples. The Chancellor quickly took advantage of the opportunity to try to line up all the Liberal elements of the nation for the fight for which the reactionaries had evidently been longing. Apparently determined to show the people that the Government could be as firm in putting down the Junkers as it had been in suppressing communist revolts, an order was issued prohibiting a meeting scheduled for Sunday, Aug. 28, in Potsdam, in commemoration of the battle of Tannenberg, won by Von Hindenburg over the Russians early in the World War. The Junkers did not hold the meeting, but there was a clash between the police and a crowd of communists and Socialists who had taken possession of the Lustgarten to see to it that there would be no Tannenberg celebration. Two Socialists were killed. The day before a Tannenberg parade had been broken up by radical workmen.

Following a meeting of the Cabinet on Aug. 29 President Ebert issued a decree prohibiting meetings, demonstrations, pro-

cessions and the publication of periodicals, if, in the opinion of the authorities, they were calculated to promote the violent change or abolition of the Constitution of the Republic. Fines up to 500,000 marks and jail sentences were fixed as the penalties for violations of the order. A proclamation to the people signed by Chancellor Wirth stated that:

The Government is determined to do what the circumstances of the time and the menace to the Constitution imperatively demand, and to employ the most drastic means to check the anti-Republican movement in the German Commonwealth.

This was followed by an order from Minister of the Interior Gradenauer suspending the publication of several rabid Nationalist newspapers, including the *Deutsche Zeitung*, the *Lokal-Anzeiger* and *Der Tag*. They were permitted to resume publication after a few days. When some members of the People's Party (the Big Business group) attempted to hold Sedan Day meetings in Berlin and Chemnitz on Sept. 2, despite police orders to the contrary, crowds of workmen raided the halls and broke up the celebrations. There were similar happenings all over Germany, with the exception of Bavaria, and in nearly all cases the reactionaries were put to flight.

President Ebert also issued an order forbidding the wearing of army uniforms by persons not in active military service. This was intended to put an end to the frequent displays of war trappings by Generals Ludendorf, Hindenburg et al. at monarchist demonstrations and to make it easier to enforce an order prohibiting members of the regular army and the security police from taking part in Nationalist demonstrations. The uniform order was subsequently modified so as to allow the wearing of army regalia by ex-soldiers at funerals of their comrades and upon other occasions to be determined by the authorities. Both Admiral von Scheer, last chief of the German High Seas Fleet, and General von Lettow-Vorbeck, the German commander in East Africa, were forbidden to make speeches in public.

The Wirth Government was strengthened in its determination to squelch the reaction by the appearance before the Chancellor of delegations representing some 11,000,000 German union men and the Majority and

Independent Socialists, with the assurance that the organizations they spoke for were ready to go to the limit in backing the authorities in their war upon the monarchists and reactionary business leaders. Then, on Aug. 31, while Chancellor Wirth was attending the funeral of Erzberger in Biberach in Württemberg, some 100,000 Berliners quit work at the call of the two Socialist Parties and paraded through the streets to the Lustgarten. There, with 100,000 others, they listened to scores of orators who denounced the reaction and all its works. Red flags were mingled with the black, red and gold colors of the republic. Good order was maintained, largely due to the fact that the reactionaries were too thoroughly cowed to attempt any counter-demonstration. Although the communists had not been particularly invited to participate in the pro-republic demonstration, thousands of them were on hand, and their speakers joined the Socialists in asserting that the republic must be maintained, despite its faults.

On the other hand, the reactionaries of the Nationalist Party, at a convention opened in Munich on Sept. 1, voiced open defiance of the Government and, through the mouths of Karl von Helfferich, ex-Minister of Finance, and Dr. Hergt, an ex-Prussian Minister, warned Chancellor Wirth against sowing the wind which might result in a Nationalist whirlwind. Hergt declared his party would eventually change the Constitution so as to effect the restoration of the monarchy.

A meeting held Sept. 2 of the Reichstag Committee of Eight, which keeps an eye on the Government's actions during Parliamentary recesses, voted unanimous approval of the Chancellor's acts. Even Dr. von Kahr, the reactionary Bavarian Premier and a leader of the People's Party, said he and his party would stand by the Republican Constitution. Dr. Stresemann, chief of the People's Party, made the same statement. Both these men, however, are avowed believers in monarchism. Chancellor Wirth was quoted as having said to the committee:

There is danger that the German Nation may fall apart into socialistic and bourgeois halves, which must inevitably lead to civil war. We must counteract this danger. But I want to leave no doubt in any one's mind. If, despite all my efforts, this break-

up comes to pass, then I shall stand on the side of the working class.

In Bavaria the reaction believed itself strong enough to defy the orders from Berlin suppressing two anti-Republican newspapers and prohibiting the wearing of army uniforms; but when the various Socialist and labor union groups served notice upon Premier von Kahr that they would back up Chancellor Wirth with the general strike if need be, a committee representing the Bavarian Government was sent to Berlin to try to patch up a truce.

Apparently impressed by the firmness of the Wirth Government in insisting upon the extension of national control to Bavaria, the delegation yielded to most of the Government's demands. This decision was rejected by the Nationalist and People's Party members of the Munich Cabinet, and on Sept. 12 Dr. von Kahr and the whole Cabinet resigned. This was expected to result in the formation of a more liberal Government in Bavaria.

Matthias Erzberger was born at Buttenhausen, Württemberg, Sept. 20, 1875, in humble circumstances. His brightness as a boy caused a wealthy landowner to pay for his elementary education, but aside from this he was a self-made man. He soon got into politics as a progressive Clerical, and his home district of Biberach-Leuthkirch kept him in the Reichstag from 1903 to the day of his death. Erzberger was the object of violent attacks from both sides of the House, both during and after the war. His Pan-German professions when it looked as if Germany were sure to win drew the fire of the Socialists and Moderates, while his work for a compromise peace later, and his drastic plan of taxation while Minister of Finance in 1919, aroused the anger of the Junkers and capitalists. Early in 1920 an attempt was made on Erzberger's life, for which his assailant was sentenced to serve eighteen months in jail. It was Erzberger who, as chief of the German peace delegation, signed the armistice terms laid down by Marshal Foch on Nov. 10, 1918, which ended the World War. Erzberger is survived by a widow and two daughters. His only son was killed in the war.

On Sept. 13 the Baden police announced that the murderers of Erzberger had been

identified as ex-officers and former members of the notorious Ehrhart Marine brigade which captured Berlin for the Kapp reactionaries in March, 1920. A reward of 100,000 marks was offered for their capture.

Through heavy purchases of bills of exchange, and by taking some 68,000,000 marks from the gold reserves of the Reichsbank, the German Government managed to complete the payment of the twenty \$10,000,000 three-month notes due on Aug. 31 under the terms covering the payment of the 1,000,000,000 gold marks provided for in the final reparation plan agreed upon last May. On Sept. 6 the Reparation Commission in Paris issued the following statement:

On May 31 Germany had paid the Reparation Commission 160,400,000 gold marks and had supplied drafts at three months on the German Treasury for the remainder of the 1,000,000,000 gold marks. The Reparation Commission has now received in approved foreign currency from the German Government 770,000,000 gold marks in redemption of these drafts. Moreover, the German Government has shipped gold to New York to make up the balance of the 1,000,000,000 marks. Subject to final adjustment of accounts, the payment due under Article 5 of the schedule of payments has been effected.

Under a reparation plan signed by Dr. Walter Rathenau, German Minister of Reconstruction, and Louis Loucheur, French Minister for the Devastated Regions, on Aug. 27 in Wiesbaden [details of which are given in the article on France in this issue of CURRENT HISTORY], material to the value of 7,000,000,000 gold marks is to be furnished to France during the next five years. This agreement must be ratified by the French Chamber of Deputies and the Reichstag.

Coincident with the return from Paris to Berlin on Aug. 19 of General Nollet, chief of the Interallied Military Control Commission, it was reported that the commission intended to prolong its supervision of German armaments, as the Germans were refusing to furnish an inventory of the arms on hand, thus making it impossible to estimate accurately the potential strength of armed German forces. A Berlin report of Sept. 8 said that large numbers of the formally disbanded Bavarian Home Guards had been organized into an "emergency

force," led by the old commanders of the Guards and presumably ready to put down communist uprisings or to support a monarchist revolt, if need be.

Another step toward the final settlement of the problem of Upper Silesia was taken on Sept. 1, in Geneva, when the Council of the League of Nations appointed a commission composed of Paul Hymans, Belgium; Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo, China; Count Quinones de Leon, Spain, and Dr. Castoa de Cunha, Brazil, to hear all experts, except those Germans and Poles already involved in the controversy, and to submit a plan for the approval of the League. The Allies informed Germany that they intended to send more troops into the disputed plebiscite territory to make sure that the decision of the League of Nations would be respected.

Prompt ratification of the Treaty of Peace between Germany and the United States, signed on Aug. 25 in Berlin by Dr. Friedrich Rosen, German Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Ellis Loring Dresel, American Commissioner to Germany, was expected in Germany on the Reichstag's re-assembling Sept. 27. [For text of treaty see Page 58.]

The general business revival continued

during the month, and was accompanied by wild speculation in German industrial stocks. The Berlin Bourse was compelled to suspend operations several times in order to catch up with the volume of trading. To some extent this speculation was due to the drop in the exchange value of the mark. This fell on Sept. 12 in New York to .91 cent, the lowest on record. An official report by the Prussian Ministry of Trade received in London on Sept. 8 stated that the German manufacturing boom was still on. The clothing and millinery producers had sold their entire 1922 output in advance, while the demand for cotton goods and for iron and steel products and automobiles could not be met.

An echo of the communist "putsch" of last March was heard in Berlin when Minister of Justice Schiffer announced that the last of the extraordinary courts set up to try the leaders of the rioters had been abolished on Aug. 15. Four days later President Ebert freed forty-two of the imprisoned communists and reduced the jail sentences of several hundred others. None of the eight death sentences pronounced by the extraordinary courts has been reported as carried out.

POLITICAL FEUDS IN HUNGARY

Enemies of Count Karolyi get a tart answer from Clemenceau—New attacks on the Horthy regime by the Hapsburg partisans—Trouble over cession of Burgenland to Austria

[PERIOD ENDED SEPT. 12, 1921]

THE campaign conducted by Prince Louis Windischgraetz against Count Michael Karolyi, former leader of the anti-German party and ex-President of the Hungarian People's Republic, took an unpleasant turn for the Prince himself. He had accused Karolyi of having communicated Austro-German war secrets to the French Government and of having received a subsidy from Soviet Russia. To substantiate these charges, the Prince quoted verbatim a speech of M. Clemenceau, made in the French Chamber of Deputies on Dec. 18, 1918. Count Theodore Batthyany, a former Cabinet Minister and now prominent

in the Opposition, doubting the authenticity of this revelation, telegraphed to Clemenceau himself for confirmation and received the following answer: "I have not said a single word of what Prince Windischgraetz attributes to me." Count Batthyany's publication of the telegram created consternation among the enemies of Count Karolyi, who is now an exile in Yugoslavia.

The feud between the "Legitimists," or partisans of Hapsburg restoration, and "Free Electionists," who maintain that the Hungarian throne is vacant and should be filled by popular election, continues with unabated bitterness. A Legitimist leader,

Edmund Beniczky, one of the closest friends of Charles IV., aroused a series of storms in Parliament by his continued disclosures of horrors perpetrated by officers of the Horthy army. He described the massacre at Orgovany in the Winter of 1919, where the so-called Hejjas detachment murdered with unspeakable tortures a batch of communist suspects; he also referred to the assassination of numerous Jews by Horthy's officers. These outrages had been denied officially, and reports concerning them were attributed to a Bolshevistic campaign of slander. Now, however, some of the prominent Conservative leaders, members of the aristocracy, come forward with charges about a White Terror in order to discredit the Horthy régime and increase sympathy for the Hapsburg King, who, they say, would punish the terrorists and restore law and order. One of the results of these disclosures was that Lieut. Col. Pronay, most dreaded of the terrorist chieftains, addressed a threatening letter to Stephen Rakovsky, Speaker of the House and prominent Legitimist, for having dared to criticise the activities of Pronay and his officers. Rakovsky resigned, saying that if army officers who attempt intimidation of representatives are not immediately removed parliamentarism itself becomes a farce.

Contingent upon the ratification of the Peace of Trianon by the Hungarian Parliament, two of its territorial clauses were to be executed in August. One of them returns to Hungary the city of Baja and the county of Baranya, since 1918 occupied by Yugoslavia. The Magyar inhabitants of this region protested against being incorporated in Horthy's Hungary, and organized an autonomous administration under Yugoslav protection. They declared that they were eager to rejoin a democratic Hungarian Republic, but that they preferred Yugoslav occupation to the White Terror of Horthy's army. Their protests, however,

though supported by the Yugoslav Government, were overruled, and on Aug. 22 Horthy's troops entered the territory, the Yugoslav troops having left the night before. Several thousand Hungarians, opposed to the Horthy régime, fled to Yugoslav territory in order to escape persecution.

The other territorial clause to be put into effect—as stipulated also in the Treaty of St. Germain—was the cession of Burgenland, or the three westernmost counties of Hungary, inhabited by Germans, to the Austrian Republic. This should have taken place on Aug. 22, but when, after several postponements, an Austrian force entered the district, on Aug. 28, it was met with violent resistance by armed bands of Hungarians. Skirmishing continued for several days; the Hungarian irregulars, besides fighting the Austrian gendarmerie, committed a series of atrocities against the peaceable German population. This led to energetic protests on the part of the Austrian Government, which accused the Magyar Government of bad faith, and demanded that the transfer be enforced and Burgenland cleared of Magyar soldiers by Entente troops, as Austria had fulfilled her obligations under the treaty of peace and disarmed, whereas Hungary still maintains a large army. The situation was rendered more serious on Sept. 11, when Burgenland was occupied, not by Entente troops, but by a detachment of the regular Hungarian Army.

The territory in dispute has an area of 1,700 square miles and a population under 350,000. The proximity of Burgenland to Vienna, with the remarkable productivity of this small strip in respect to milk, fruit, vegetables, poultry, eggs, cereals, potatoes, sugar and wine, gives it especial importance to the Viennese, and, as it now belongs to the Austrians by treaty rights, they are determined to hold it at all hazards.

HARMONY IN THE BALKANS

Bulgaria not to be disarmed by the Interallied Commission, lest it render her helpless—Passing of King Peter of Serbia simplifies the situation in Jugoslavia—Czechoslovakia signs a military alliance with the Yugoslavs

[PERIOD ENDED SEPT. 12, 1921]

WITH the problems of a defeated or a victorious Greece still undefined by the Supreme Council, and with the problems of Albania, Bulgaria and Jugoslavia intricately interwoven with the doings of the Council of Ambassadors at Paris or the League of Nations at Geneva, Rumania seems to be about the only Balkan State which has not faced serious questions since the middle of August. In the last week of August Také Jonescu, the President of the Rumanian Council of Ministers, was caught by Paris reporters at the Hôtel Maurice. He was on his way to take the cure at Vichy. On the length of that cure, he smilingly intimated, would depend the date of the coronation of King Ferdinand at Belgrade. He said:

We Rumanians work hard. Our country is calm and free from agitation of all sorts. Yet we are not unfashionable, for we have had a drought. That has reduced our crop of Indian corn. But our crop of wheat will be enormous and we shall export large quantities. We have alliances with our neighbors—that is, with three of them, and with Bulgaria our relations are sympathetically friendly. There is the Little Entente, which protects us from the Magyars on one side and Bolshevism on the other. The world is buying our exchange as fast as it can. What more can we desire?

ALBANIA—On Aug. 30 the Albanian delegation at the League of Nations was vainly trying to have the Assembly of the League rescind the decree of the League's Council referring Albanian complaints against Greece and Jugoslavia to the Council of Ambassadors. At both the Assembly and the Council Italy backed up Albania, partly to oppose the aspirations of Greece and Jugoslavia, and partly in her own interests. Denied a military pied-à-terre at Valona, Italy wishes to have her title cleared to the island-rock of Saseno, which lies at the mouth of Valona Bay and commands, with Brindisi on the Italian side, the

Strait of Otranto, and hence the entrance to the Adriatic. According to a dispatch from Geneva published Sept. 6 in the *Idea Nazionale* of Rome, the Albanian delegates make no objection to Italy's having a clear title to Saseno.

The Yugoslav and Greek claims, however, form a problem not so easily adjusted, for these claims strike at the territorial entity of Albania. Meanwhile, the Council of Ambassadors has settled the Albanian-Grecian frontier question, quite contrary to the numerous interallied agreements and memoranda exchanged in the days of Wilson and Venizelos. These agreements are still opposed by Italy, although at the time of the Peace Conference Italy reluctantly gave way and allocated to Greece the districts of Korytza and Argyrocastro. On the present occasion Italy, backed by France, has had her way, and British support of the Greek claims, then decided purely on ethnic grounds, has not been in evidence. But the northeast frontier, the Serb-Albanian boundary, is a much more delicate question. Here the Serbians are actually administering Albanian communities, although with less rigor than they did some months ago, just as they have now changed their policy in Montenegro.

BULGARIA—Neither the Bulgarian Government nor the Interallied Military Commission of Control at Sofia expects the military clauses in the Treaty of Neuilly to be executed by Oct. 1, as was decreed by the commission on Aug. 6. It is now known that the commission is not in sympathy with the decree, does not see how it can be carried out, and issued it only under pressure from the Council of Ambassadors and under a misapprehension. This last phase of the question caused the Sofia Government to issue the following démenti on Aug. 21:

Some foreign agents have furnished to the Interallied Military Commission of Control in Sofia certain apocryphal letters relating to some imaginary secret orders of the Bulgarian authorities about concealing war material, &c., with the obviously sole object of discrediting Bulgaria before the Allies. The Bulgarian Government has pointed out that these documents are forged, and has demanded that an inquiry shall be made on the subject by the commission itself with a view to finding the malefactors.

Aside from the specific trouble, which will presently be dealt with, Bulgaria, in spite of her seemingly correct attitude toward the Treaty of Neuilly, in all its reasonable demands, in spite of the high esteem in which Premier Stambolisky is held in the chancelleries of the Entente, appears to be the victim of malicious propaganda of various sorts. There are about as many Bulgars outside of Bulgaria as there are within; that is to say, 5,000,000. Some of those outside have affiliations with the Turkish Nationalists, some with the pro-Teutonic plots of those, within and without the Kingdom, who desire the return of "Czar" Ferdinand. Added to all this is the heritage of hate and suspicion entertained for the Bulgars as a people, not as a constituted nation, by the Greeks and Serbs, and the belief of their Governments, either well or ill based, that the Bulgars have not been sufficiently bled.

Then there is the specific problem of disarmament. Under the Treaty of Neuilly Bulgaria was obliged to abolish compulsory service and reduce her army to 20,000 men, including officers and *dépôt* troops, while the maximum of police was to be 10,000 and of frontier guards 3,000.

Such a force, military authorities of the Entente agree, would be quite adequate for Bulgaria as a member of the League of Nations; but this force means a volunteer force adequately paid by the State. Volunteers have not been forthcoming and there would have been no money to pay them had they been enrolled. Pay varies according to the civil status of the volunteers—that is to say, whether they are married men or bachelors, or whether they have to support families. A minimum of 700 leva (\$35) per month has been fixed for privates and 1,200 for non-commissioned officers. They will, moreover, be housed, fed and clothed, and will receive three or four months' holiday every year. Meanwhile,

the Interallied Military Control Commission, through arrangements with the General Staff, has been discharging the old conscript army. So, by Oct. 1, there will be none left. Bulgaria will have no army to speak of, and a diminished police and frontier guard corps. If this should occur Bulgaria might become a prey to the worst conflicts within and to attacks from without. None realizes this better than the commission.

At Belgrade and Athens, however, they tell a different story. There they say that the Sofia Government has concealed large amounts of war material secured from Germany during the war. With this material, including large and mid-calibre guns and nearly 1,000,000 rifles (which, however, the keenest agents of the commission have failed to uncover), Bulgaria has 856,000 veterans ready with very little training to take the field.

How can that be possible, and if possible, what could be done without a reserve? They answer in Belgrade and Athens that the Bulgarian law on the organization of the army and the guard of the frontiers, promulgated on May 27, taken in connection with the law of enforced labor, would sufficiently supply recruits for a reserve force, while the military instruction under the guise of gymnastics, which is being introduced into the schools, would do the rest.

M. A. Dimitroff, the Minister of War, has declared to General de Fourton, the French officer at the head of the mission, that if the decree be executed Bulgaria will be entirely helpless, and that this situation would make possible the revival of the *comitajis* on the Greek, Serbian and even Rumanian frontiers. For their acts the Sofia Government, reduced to helplessness, could not rightly be held responsible.

General de Fourton sympathizes with M. Dimitroff, but he believes that Bulgaria may count on the League of Nations in case trouble arises through an inadequate military, police and frontier force. He also believes that Bulgaria can raise by the volunteer system from 3,000 to 4,000 men a year, should the Government take steps to make the service popular, as it has not done hitherto. On his own initiative he sent a scheme to the Council of Ambassadors by which each year's quota might be made up by ballot, but this the council promptly re-

fused. M. Dimitroff has also pointed out to him that the idea that the Bulgars are a nation of warriors is a pure delusion based on the fact that they have always given a good account of themselves when fighting for their country. "The truth is," he says, "we are a peaceful nation, who have learned by experience to abhor war—one who would volunteer only if our independence were endangered." In proof of this he quoted the drastic conscription rules for the old army, whose peace footing, in spite of popular clamor, was kept at 80,000.

JUGOSLAVIA—While the Prince Regent Alexander, who was also the heir presumptive to the throne of Yugoslavia, was incognito at a Paris hospital suffering from appendicitis, his father, King Peter, died in the lonely palace at Belgrade on Aug. 16. The third member of the Karageorgevitch dynasty to reign, he had succeeded when King Alexander of the Obrenovitch line was assassinated in 1903. Peter was born in 1844, and had lived in exile since his father's banishment in 1868. He received his military education at the French military school of Saint-Cyr, where he translated John Stuart Mill's reflections on "Liberty." With the French Foreign Legion, in which he was first a Lieutenant, then a Captain, and finally a Major, he fought against Germany in 1870. He was living among his books in Switzerland when called to the throne in 1903. His great military achievement was driving the Austrians across the Danube in December, 1915, with an army one-tenth the size of the enemy's. In the following Autumn he shared the privations of the great retreat with his men.

But the new King, Alexander, has an elder brother, George, who resigned all rights to the throne in 1909, when he came under suspicion of having slain a servant. Late in August there were rumors from Paris that George, urged on by Croat and Slovene factions, had denounced his renunciation and would claim the throne.

MONTENEGRO—With the death of King Nicholas of Montenegro the question of that State's independence became quiescent. With the death of King Peter, who had married one of Nicholas's daughters, it has probably ceased to be of grave import. It had been kept alive principally by the Italians as a propagandist instrument against Yugoslavia, although shortly after

the armistice the Montenegrin National Council had voted to become a part of Yugoslavia and had denounced and dethroned King Nicholas for his alleged treasonable relations with Austria. His personal following, inspired and paid by Italy, continued to keep the question of independence alive. It was even favorably reported on by Count de Salis in the Spring of 1919, and given to the Peace Conference for settlement; then the Supreme Council, which inherited most of the unsettled questions of the Conference, took the matter up, but failed to act upon it, owing to Italian opposition to incorporation in Yugoslavia.

Now, since the death of Peter, Italy has assumed a different attitude, partly due to the desire of more friendly relations with Yugoslavia. Italy had been supporting a Montenegrin Consulate at Rome at a cost of 20,000,000 lire a year. It was discovered that some of this money had been used in anti-Yugoslav propaganda. On Aug. 23 the Rome police visited the "Consulate" and secured, it is said, incriminating evidence against the occupants. At about the same time, Signor Magrini reported on Montenegro in a manner favorable to the Yugoslav administration. He discovered no atrocities, no cruelties, no sufferings inflicted on the ancient population. On the contrary, the Serbians have wisely respected the "vested interests" by allowing many Montenegrin officials to retain their posts, and by giving to Montenegrin officers the same rank in the Yugoslav army which they held in that of old King Nicholas. They have also, declares Signor Magrini, humored the very national Montenegrin sentiment for local administration of Montenegro by Montenegrins, in other words, administrative autonomy. Thus, "all the prefects, functionaries, and officials of Montenegro are Montenegrins," and Cetinje, the capital, is no mere prefecture of Belgrade. Moreover, Montenegrin students, who may desire to attend Yugoslav universities, are furnished with scholarships for so doing by the Belgrade Government. Finally, the Italian investigator emphasizes the fact that the chief argument for Montenegro's being a part of Serbia is economic, for Montenegro, during the last two-and-a-half years, has received, in the form of public works, pensions and subsidies, from Yugoslavia

93½ million dinars (about \$5,000,000), and has paid, in the shape of taxes, only five million.

In these circumstances, which seem to indicate the removal of all Italian opposition to the incorporation of Montenegro in Yugoslavia, it is expected that the Supreme Council will at least refer the problem to the League of Nations, if it does not, indeed, solve it itself.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA — Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia signed at Prague late in August a military compact which gives the two countries the means to execute and defend their treaty of alliance. The compact places at the disposition of the two States sufficient forces for their security, with provisions for a mutual organization and unified command. On Oct. 1 Czechoslovakia will take possession—at Budapest, Vienna and Ratisbon—of the Danube steamboats allocated to her under the treaty. These boats will ply the Danube chiefly in the transportation of cereals.

An unpleasant incident occurred at Prague following the decree against the display of German colors at the Richenberg Fair. Several German Deputies and Sen-

ators protested and made impassioned addresses advocating revolt. The Senators from Slovakia joined in a protest against the propaganda industriously conducted abroad to convey the impression that Slovakia was dissatisfied with the union and wished separate existence; they denounced these sentiments as false, and warmly asserted that their people are loyal to the Czechoslovak State. On the other hand, the American and European newspapers are flooded with leaflets—issued at Budapest—indicating widespread dissatisfaction among the Slovaks. The chief grievance of the Slovaks, according to Hungarian reports, is against the schools and the alleged inferiority of the teachers assigned to them by the Czech authorities. The Hungarian press announces that a Slovak National Council has been organized with 100 members. Dr. Francis Jehlicksa, a Deputy of the Prague National Assembly, was elected President. The purpose of this body is to advocate secession from the Czech Republic. The Hungarian politicians are industriously engaged in stirring up strife among the Slovaks against the Czechs and do not disguise their motives.

NORWAY'S PROHIBITION DILEMMA

If absolute prohibition is adopted the wine-producing countries threaten to put on the Norwegian fish trade a tariff that would mean bankruptcy and famine

[PERIOD ENDED SEPT. 12, 1921]

WITH Norway's vast fishing industry already threatened with ruin through the high tariffs that wine-growing Spain and Portugal have imposed in retaliation for Norway's limited prohibition, and with the "drys" as well organized and active in Norway as in the United States, the present Norwegian Government is struggling for life between counter-currents. The fishing population, in despair over the loss of their chief markets, threaten to go over to Bolshevism unless the Government does something at once for their relief. The pressure of the prohibitionists keeps the Government afraid to rescind its ban on the stronger Spanish and Portuguese wines.

This complication creates one of the leading political issues of the day in Norway. The outcome of the campaign for absolute prohibition before the October elections to the Storting is uncertain. Meanwhile, negotiations are being conducted in order to reach an agreement with the wine-producing countries and to forestall further retaliatory measures on their part against the Norwegian export trade in fish.

The Cabinet that has to steer the ship of State through these uncertainties was organized by Premier Blehr last June. The complete list of its Ministers is now available. The distribution of portfolios was as follows:

Premier and Minister of Finance, M. Blehr.
Foreign Minister, Dr. Raestad.
Minister of Cults and Education, Olsen
Nalun.
Minister of Justice, O. Amundsen.
Minister of Public Works, M. Mjelde.
Minister of Commerce, M. Mowinkel.
Minister of Social Welfare, M. Ostedahl.
Minister of Agriculture, M. Flivet.
Minister of War, General Aavatsmark.

Premier Blehr is 74 years old and has held many important posts in various Norwegian Government. His Cabinet is classified as bourgeois radical.

The Odelsting (lower house) of the Storting adopted on Sept. 8 a bill forbidding importation of liquors or wines containing more than 14 per cent. of alcohol, thus confirming the status quo of prohibition in Norway. It was expected that the Lagthing (Senate) would approve this measure. The incorrectness of a statement, "the Lefts favor the present system of absolute prohibition," in the September CURRENT HISTORY, has been pointed out. There has never been absolute prohibition in Norway, though the "bone-drys" there have hopes, regardless of any afterclap. During the war Norway put a ban on all wines and liquors containing more than 12 per cent. of alcohol. Lately, however, following urgent representations from France, this maximum was raised to 14 per cent. in order to obtain the recently concluded commercial agreement with that country.

By the terms of this commercial treaty, after France had threatened retaliation similar to that which Spain and Portugal carried out, Norway agreed to unlimited importation of wines containing up to 14 per cent. of alcohol, and to a certain minimum amount of strong wines and brandies for medicinal and technical purposes which would be commercially satisfactory to France. Negotiations with Portugal and Spain have met with greater difficulties. When Norway barred the stronger Spanish beverages from importation, Spain added 50 per cent. to its import duty on Norwegian *klipfisk* (dried cod and other stockfish). Portugal passed a law which raised considerably the harbor dues of ships belonging to countries which restricted the importation of Portuguese products and also the import duty on goods from such countries.

Already these actions are causing dis-

stress in the Norwegian fishing population, which for many years has depended on the shipment of vast amounts of cod and other stockfish to Spain and Portugal. Codfish forms one of the main staples of diet of the Spanish and Portuguese people, especially the poorer classes; nevertheless, these two Latin countries threaten, if Norway adopts absolute prohibition, to put a complete embargo on the Norwegian fish trade and to import all their codfish from Newfoundland. Such a change would mean widespread bankruptcy and famine in Norway, where fishing is one of the largest industries.

The Prohibition Party is strong and not inclined to make concessions. A plebiscite taken in Norway about two years ago showed a large majority in favor of prohibition. Many Norwegian fishermen who then voted for the present system of limited prohibition are now bemoaning its afterclap in the depression of their industry. The prohibitionists may yet have to accommodate their demands to the pressure of economic necessity.

Meanwhile the labyrinthine fjords that indent the coast of Norway and the multitudinous islands and skerries that fringe it afford unparalleled advantages for smuggling. Large numbers of Norse seafaring folk have taken to rum-running. They bring their stocks of "drinkware" (*drikkevare*) from Sweden, Denmark and Germany, in which countries there is nothing to limit the supply but the length of the buyer's purse. As it is impossible to employ a revenue patrol sufficient to catch or even to discover many of these smugglers, almost every cargo is disposed of at wholesale or retail, either within the three-mile limit or beyond it. Moonshining flourishes also, and the production of home brew. The usual complaint is that, although there is plenty of the legalized 12 to 14 per cent. wines, these are obtainable only at prices prohibitive to people of moderate means, who are therefore impelled to undergo the dynamic effects of "home brew" and "moonshine."

Norwegian commercial representatives were officially in Stockholm all through August while two dramatically contrasted events were taking place in the Swedish capital—the secret trial of those involved in the Bolshevik conspiracy in Northern

Sweden and Norway, and the commercial conference between delegates from Norway and Sweden and representatives from Soviet Russia. After prolonged negotiations the Norwegians made a commercial agreement with Russia, but it was criticised severely by the conservative press of Christiania. *Aftenposten* published an assertion that this commercial agreement implied *de facto* recognition of the Soviet Government, and deplored the circumstance that the Norwegian Government had not obtained recognition of compensation claims for Norwegian property seized in Russia by the Bolsheviks. These claims amounted to about 300,000,000 kroner.

The continued sinking in value of the Norwegian krone caused the prices of goods to rise all over Norway. Taking the lowest prices of 1913 as 100 per cent., the rise for the month of July was 292.5 per cent.

Captain Roald Amundsen's power-schooner, the *Maud*, is undergoing repairs at Seattle, preparatory to recommencing the quest for the North Pole early next May, with the present native crew, besides Drs. Sverdrup, Olonkin and Wisting. Captain Amundsen is to have two new men from Norway, aviators and machinists. One of these is to be the Norwegian aviator, Odd Dahl, between whom and the American aviator, Naulty, there will probably be a race for the North Pole, in the opinion of *Aftenposten*. Besides the new appropriation granted to Amundsen by the Storting, new provisions are being collected in Norway under the direction of Professor Torup, the noted scientist. The relief expedition sent out to look for Tessem and Knudsen, the two men missing from the *Maud* in Siberia, returned to Christiania on the power-cutter *Heimen* about the middle of August, without news of the men. The expedition had sought in vain for them from the middle of August, 1920.

DENMARK—Depression from the great slump in values caused by German competition in the Danish markets has reached a critical stage, according to a long editorial in *Dagens Nyheder*, Copenhagen, on the Industrial Council's report to the Ministry of Commerce presented late in August. The amount of unemployment is startling. The comparatively few industries that keep in operation retain only from three-fourths

down to one-sixth of their normal working forces. In speeches made throughout the country, the Commerce Ministry repeatedly attributed the depression to the public's withholding its purchasing power. This view the editor of *Dagens Nyheder* belittled, declaring that the importation of German goods while Danish industries lie idle is patently to blame. Conditions in the tin-ware industry are cited as typical. Tin-ware has been bought extensively because it has to be used. But while the Danish tinplate factories are depopulated, the imports from Germany have mounted to 450 per cent. Other industries are in proportion.

Since the return of the Danish sovereigns from their visit to the Faroe Islands, Iceland, and Greenland, the Faroese Senate has been debating vehemently the proposal of the Faroe Islands Government to alter the islands' status in the Danish Kingdom. This is the only essential question that separates the two Faroese political parties. The Union (*Samband*) Party wishes to keep the communal county (*amtskommunal*) position now in force, while the Autonomous (*Selvstyre*) Party works for a separation, so that the Faroe Islands shall occupy a relation to Denmark equal to that which Iceland has.

SWEDEN—While the trial of the Bolshevik conspirators has progressed in Stockholm, Soviet agents have been going about all over Sweden buying up grain. The authorities have kept a sharp watch on this traffic, with a view to forbidding grain export on a large scale. The harvest of beet-root, rye and wheat promises an unusually good yield.

Hugo Stinnes, the German financier, arrived in Sweden early in September and went to his estate in Smaland. Although he is said to be seeking recreation after a recent automobile accident, the Swedish papers insist that his visit has to do with the Swedish-Russian trade negotiations.

Sweden is not feeling as severe a business depression as Denmark, but German competition here also is making itself disagreeably felt. Decline in most industries was gradual, but the 70,000 to 80,000 unemployed workmen were the greatest number yet recorded in Swedish labor history. Bankruptcies increased in the last fiscal year.

ITALY OUT OF HER QUANDARY

The Bonomi Government suppresses the Arditi del Popolo without reprisals from the Fascisti, who remain quiescent—Widespread denunciation of extremists in other parties, and subsidence of militant communism—Winding up the Fiume affair

[PERIOD ENDED SEPT. 12, 1921]

THE Parliamentary recess which began Aug. 6 is expected to last into October. There is comparative tranquillity in political circles, for, where now the parties are trying to put their houses in order and little is heard about members of the Cabinet except their *villeggiatura*, two years ago Nitti was demoralizing the country by trying to govern by decrees, and a year ago Giolitti seemed powerless against the red flags bobbing up every day in the metallurgic region of the north.

The attempt of the militant communists to develop an organization to wipe out the Fascisti, calling it the Arditi del Popolo, proved a flash in the pan. The carabinieri, who for months had reflected the growing authority of the Ministry of the Interior and its firm directions to the Prefects, kept things well in hand; so the Fascisti had no excuse for reprisals.

The Partita Popolare, or Catholic Party, has recognized more and more the leadership of intelligent Catholics and has denounced those extremists who wished to make common cause with the Socialists. The liberal views of the Vatican, recently expressed on several occasions through both the Princes of the Church and the Osservatore Romano, have tended to close its ranks and to pledge its support to the Government as long as the Government will insist on law and order. The Congress of Catholic Young Men of Italy (Il Congresso della Gioventù Cattolica Italiana), which closed in Rome on Sept. 6, had a strong moral effect on the party and on the country at large; for, when the Catholic associations entered the Vatican to receive the Apostolic blessing from the Holy Father, they bore at their head the *Tricolore* of the Italian monarchy with the emblems of the house of Savoy—possibly a significant oriflamme of peace between Vatican and Quirinal.

Deputy Acero of the Parliamentary Fascisti (Gruppo Fascista), who was instrumental in aiding the President of the Chamber in bringing about a truce between the Fascisti and the United Socialists in the last days of the session, made an important declaration on Sept. 1. While he deplored the disruption wrought among the Fascisti, mainly because of misconstruing the attitude of their leaders in regard to socialism, monarchism and republicanism, and the withdrawal of Benito Mussolino from among them, yet all that was needed to unite them, Acero declared, was a political program with definite and easily comprehended political ideals. On Sept. 9 Signor Mussolino announced the formation of such a party as an accomplished fact.

While the Communist Deputy from Trieste, Nocila Bombacci, continued to make speeches eulogizing the twenty-one points of Lenin and the Third International, he was periodically "shown up" by his erstwhile "comrade," Giacinto Menotti Serrati, in the columns of the *Avanti*. Other Socialist leaders, Turati and Treves, were trying to bring order out of chaos in order to present a respectable front at the Milan Socialist Congress, which meets in October.

At Turin, where the communist dictatorship has kept 70,000 out of work, the Socialists, in trying to break the power which held the men in bondage, came to blows with the communist leaders and vanquished them, while groups of Fascisti looked on smiling. On Aug. 20 a communist manifesto was issued calling a general strike. Thereupon the Labor Confederation, which a year ago was actively leading the demand of the workers for the control of the factories, issued a counter-manifesto, saying, among other things:

It is time to do away with this mad policy of communism, which threatens to ruin the

proletariat, especially during the present unemployment crisis.

Just what the Socialists look for at the Milan congress in October has been imparted by the Socialist Deputy Morgari in an interview printed in the *Messaggero*. He was noncommittal as to whether the intransigents would secure a majority, but added:

If they do a scission in the party will be inevitable. If Signor Turati's party is successful the congress will not adhere to the Moscow or Amsterdam International but to the International which has already received adhesion of the German Independent Socialists, the British Independent Labor Party and the Austrian Socialists.

Italian and Yugoslav commissions continued at various places to settle the problems presented by the Treaty of Rapallo—from fishery rights off the Dalmatian coast to the most important question of the Porto Baros. That the latter shall become Yugoslav is said to have been conceded, but the terms which were being arranged toward the middle of September, it is learned, would not deprive Fiume of the use of the harbor for commercial purposes. On Sept. 7 the Legionaries of Gabriele d'Annunzio quit both the harbor and Fiume, and the Italian General Amantea assumed military command. All other powers were taken over by the special Italian Commissioner, Commandant Castelli, who will attempt to organize the Government of Fiume. It is believed that matters will now make rapid progress, for the present situation of civic and industrial inactivity is costing Italy some millions of lire a month, which the Fiumese were content to have spent on them so long as nothing more was required of them than to cry "Viva l'Italia!" The real situation was brought home to Commandant Castelli when the Italian and Yugoslav delegates arranged how the Zagreb railway should be operated and the delegates of Fiume arose in opposition. With no railway or shipping movement, of course there is no commerce, and for this

stagnation Italy has been paying, while Jugoslavia has no returns.

On Aug. 31 the new Italo-German commercial treaty became operative for nine months. After this period it will be automatically renewable, unless denounced on a month's notice by either of the contracting parties. Its chief feature is to facilitate the import and export of food, clothing, and manufacturing necessities. On the same day the Italo-Russian trade agreement was signed. It is similar to the Anglo-Russian pact—a mere basis for further negotiations while removing all obstacles to a renewal of commercial and consular relations.

On Aug. 23 a decree of the Treasury announced that in the future the United States dollar and not the English pound would be the standard of international payments. This was done on account of the stability of the dollar as the practical exchange unit.

The cost of replacing the war ruin wrought in the Asiago and Trentino regions has been placed at 3,000,000,000 lire at the present rate of exchange. Over 130,000 homes were destroyed. Of these 50,000 have been rebuilt. It is estimated that in two years the task will be completed. In the historical Magistrato alle Acque of Venice more than 1,500 engineers are at work. Here 600 co-operative societies, varying in politics from Socialists to Catholics and Fascisti, have taken matters into their own hands and are rebuilding much more quickly than the Government could do. At the same time they are learning to appreciate one another's good qualities.

In the north amid the mountain torrents the electrification of water-power (Italy's white coal) has made great strides during the Summer. The Lake of Santa Croce has been turned into a reservoir containing 120,000,000 cubic meters of water, which will shortly produce 250,000 horsepower. Even the Piave has been harnessed and its wires from Pola to Ancona will next Winter save the consumption of 1,000,000 tons of coal.

SPAIN'S COSTLY ADVENTURE IN MOROCCO

[PERIOD ENDED SEPT. 12, 1921]

THE Spaniards launched an offensive on Sept. 10 against the insurgent Berber tribes from Melilla and other selected tactical points on the Mediterranean coast of Morocco. According to report from the Headquarters Staff at Melilla, the object of the offensive is to raise the siege of that city, recover as quickly as possible the lost Spanish posts in the interior, and drive the tribes into the mountains before the rainy season sets in, which will be in the first week in October.

The force operating from Melilla is said to consist of 45,000 men; that distributed at other points, of 20,000. Before the revolt the Commandant General at Melilla had at his disposal (on paper) 25,000 men, of whom 5,000 were native troops. At the various posts there were 18,000 white troops and an unknown number of native.

In Paris it is stated that the operations of Spain are merely intended to re-establish Spanish honor. In Madrid the press and public are opposed to a costly punitive expedition, devised to establish Spanish authority solely by force of arms. In both Paris and Madrid it is believed that the Spanish offensive, although brief, will be of such a character as to open the way to an armistice; this is thought to be all the more certain since many of the more intelligent of the tribal chiefs have already withdrawn from the conflict. They have become disgusted, it is said, with the atrocities committed by their less civilized colleagues and have appealed to Marshal Lyautey, the French High Commissioner, to mediate between them and the Spanish High Commissioner, General Domaso Berenguer, who has planned the present offensive. Indeed the leader of the insurgents, Abd-el-Krin, has already sent a mission to Marshal Lyautey defining the grievances of the Moors and stipulating the conditions of peace. All the same, the French have disarmed the natives in their zone and have concentrated 6,000 Senegalese on the frontier.

On Sept. 9 the Spanish losses, according

to official reports, were set at 20,000 men and 200 guns, 30,000 rifles, 500 machine guns, and an immense amount of war material.

All signs at Madrid point to the unpopularity of a war in Morocco. A credit of only 19,000,000 pesetas was decreed by the Government and ratified by Parliament with some hesitation. The Spanish Consulates at London, Paris, New York and other cities opened their books to recruits for the Foreign Legion. Nearly 500, mostly war veterans, were enrolled in New York, but it has not been learned that any have been embarked. On Sept. 12, Spaniards of the 1920 class were called to the colors.

Meanwhile, between Aug. 15 and Sept. 10 there were a number of operations, usually favorable to the Spaniards. On Aug. 16, Sidi Amaran, which commands the approach to the Tres Forcas peninsula, on which Melilla is situated, was captured by troops under General Sanjurjo; from Aug. 20 to the 27th Spanish warships bombarded Moorish gatherings on the coast between Alhucemas and Cape Tres Forcas; the Spaniards also raised the siege of Mezquita, on Sept. 4. On the other hand, Sheshuan, seventy-five miles south of Ceuta, in the western part of the zone, fell to the enemy on Aug. 19; as did Peñón de Valez, an island eight miles east of Ceuta, held by the Spaniards since 1664, on Aug. 20; also, a few days later, Tefer, thirty miles from Alkazar Bekir.

The political situation at Madrid is most complicated. King Alfonso has presented flags and has made speeches to departing regiments, but what little news of these things the censor has allowed to transpire does not reveal any great amount of enthusiasm. The Liberals under the Conde de Romanones will place no obstacles in the way of the new National Ministry under Don Antonio Maura, provided the Government does not attempt to conduct military operations on a large scale—which, however, seems most unlikely.

In the crisis brought about by the revolt

of the Moors there are beneath the surface social forces at work which make the position of the Government most hazardous. The question asked by the press of Madrid is: Will Maura have the influence and

power to restore the authority of the State which has recently been little more than a shuttlecock between rival greed and ambition, and bankrupt in a rich country? He has a great task; also a great opportunity.

SETTLEMENT OF THE MEXICAN OIL QUESTION

Conference between oil producers and Mexican officials ends in an understanding apparently satisfactory to both sides—American Government still refuses to recognize Obregon unless a treaty is signed

[PERIOD ENDED SEPT. 12, 1921]

PRODUCTION of oil in Mexico, which had been suspended by the American companies owing to the export tax, was resumed on Sept. 5 and the taxes on oil held in storage were paid by a majority of the companies the same day. This was the result of an agreement reached between large American companies and the Mexican Government. These companies, seeing that the demand of the Washington Administration on a neighboring State to rewrite its Constitution to suit them was aggravating rather than calming the situation, decided to take the matter out of the hands of the State Department.

This was all the more imperative, as the British companies, recognizing the right of Mexico to manage its own affairs, had paid the tax and continued to export oil right along. Therefore, Walter C. Teagle, President of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey; J. W. Van Dyke, President of the Atlantic Refining Company; Harry F. Sinclair, Chairman of the Sinclair Consolidated Corporation, and Amos L. Beatty, President of the Texas Company, left New York on Aug. 24 for Mexico City, being joined en route by E. L. Doheny, President of the Mexican Petroleum Company, to confer directly with the Mexican authorities, having previously ascertained that opportunity for such a conference would be granted. President Obregon, when asked for his opinion regarding the visit of the five company executives, said: "I believe this is

the first step they have taken over the shortest road."

The American Association of Mexico, an organization formed to represent the interests of landowners and other Americans who formerly lived in Mexico, sent a protest to Secretary Hughes and Secretary Fall against the trip of the oil men, saying: "An adjustment of the present controversy over taxes would be far from a settlement of the oil question in Mexico and much less a settlement of the attitude of the Mexican Government with regard to property rights and the interests in general of Americans in Mexico." But the great oil companies having decided, the State Department acquiesced.

The oil men were met on Aug. 28 at San Luis Potosi by representatives from Mexico City and Tampico, with whom they conferred on their way to the capital, which they reached the next day. They lost no time in formalities and began their conferences with Adolfo de la Huerta, Secretary of the Treasury, on the afternoon of Aug. 29, and saw President Obregon the next day. Six days were devoted to conferences and by Sept. 3 all difficulties had been settled and the oil men signed an agreement arranging the oil taxes. They were photographed in a group with Secretary de la Huerta, who then took the agreement to President Obregon at Chapultepec to sign. The latter described it as "a happy and satisfactory solution to all concerned."

Meanwhile a decision involving the famous Article 27 was rendered by the Supreme Court of Mexico on Aug. 30, in a suit brought by the Texas Oil Company in 1919 against the Mexican Department of Commerce and Industry. The decision upholds the contention of the American oil operators that Article 27, which vests in the nation the ownership of subsurface mineral wealth, cannot affect private titles validly acquired before May 1, 1917, when the new Constitution went into effect. By a unanimous vote the Court decided in favor of the Texas Company and enjoined the Department of Commerce and Industry from denouncing rights to lands held by the company before that date.

Justice Adolfo Arias, who prepared the decision, argued that such a denouncement would be in direct violation of Article 14 of the same Constitution, which states that "no law shall be given retroactive effect to the prejudice of any person whatsoever." He was emphatic in declaring that the nationalization of petroleum deposits under Article 27 of the Constitution must not be made retroactive and applicable to lands legally acquired under the mining law as it stood prior to May 1, 1917. The decision sets a precedent, according to Benito Flores, one of the Justices, for the Court's action in dealing with nearly 150 other cases.

Mexican opinion regarding the effect of the decision on the question of recognition was that the American State Department probably would maintain its insistence that President Obregon sign a treaty first, inasmuch as the Supreme Court's action or even a Congressional enactment might be subject to revision or modification by any succeeding administration. It was pointed out that the Supreme Court two years ago declared Article 27 retroactive, and the Mexican Foreign Office is reported to have similarly informed the American Embassy six months ago. In Washington it was said if careful study of the decision convinces the State Department that Article 27 must be held non-retroactive it would go further toward settling pending controversies with Mexico than any other step.

Mexican taxes on American oil held in storage amounted to a levy on some 30,000,000 barrels, and under the arrangement

with the companies production taxes will be paid every three months, instead of monthly. The Government is studying a new sliding scale of oil prices, taking the English and American markets as the base on which the present export tax may be reduced. In commenting on the Supreme Court decision, Herbert G. Wiley, Vice President of the Mexican Petroleum Company, said that if the taxes were reduced to suit the oil companies the State Department's objection to recognizing Mexico would be waived.

"No special privileges" was the keynote of President Obregon's message delivered in person on the opening of the Mexican Congress on Sept. 1. He declared that the signing of a treaty with the United States was "neither possible, convenient nor necessary" and was contrary to Mexican ideas, inasmuch as it would create special privileges for Americans. Mexico asked for recognition only on the ground of her legal and governmental ability to fulfill her international obligations. Making it dependent upon conditions, as the United States demanded, he said, was unjustified.

Three questions in dispute had been placed in the way of settlement—Article 27, claims for damages and the foreign debt. There were 1,440 damage claims, aggregating 221,331,891 pesos, of which claims for 93,965,045 were by foreigners. Mexico's invitation to form an international commission to adjust claims for damages during the last ten years of revolution had been accepted by China, Spain and Holland.

Twenty-four nations, President Obregon said, had recognized Mexico, and he enumerated them as follows: Argentina, Austria, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Germany, Guatemala, Holland, Honduras, Italy, Japan, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Salvador, Spain, Sweden, Uruguay, and Venezuela. Cordial messages had been received from France and Switzerland.

Reports submitted by members of the Cabinet were unanimously optimistic.

The army has been reduced by 30,000 men and the War Department budget has been decreased 26,000,000 pesos. All groups which were in arms against the Government had been exterminated or had surrendered. Scattered uprisings, the

Secretary declared, were not due to popular desire, but represented personal ambitions.

Twenty-one banks which were closed during Carranza's administration, had been reopened and only three remained for final adjudication. More than 8,000,000 pesos had been spent for the rehabilitation of the railroads, and several more millions to improve port conditions. The credit of \$2,500,000 extended by the Baldwin Locomotive Company is to be used to purchase rolling stock and construction material for the national railways. Ramon P. Denegei, who is President Obregon's personal representative on the Board of Directors, says that the railroads have lost more than \$300,000,000 by graft, and as a result have become lamentably inefficient. Vera Cruz, Tampico and Laredo have been congested, but the situation is gradually clearing.

Henry P. Fletcher, Under Secretary of State, in an interview on Aug. 11 with Señor Ugarte, Director of the Universal of Mexico City, showed that the Harding Administration had no intention of recognizing the Obregon Government in advance of the signing of a treaty. A translation of this interview was given out by the State Department on Aug. 20. In it Mr. Fletcher said: "It is absolutely untrue that oil influences are determining the action of the American Government."

Senator King of Utah on Aug. 15 denounced President Obregon, saying that his policy was to confiscate American property and divide it among Mexicans without giving any return. In defense of Obregon, Senator Ashurst of Arizona asserted that his State had suffered more than any other, nevertheless had unanimously petitioned Washington for recognition of Mexico. The State Legislatures of Michigan, Illinois, Oklahoma, California and Texas had taken similar action. President Obregon, he de-

clared, was a man of integrity and high impulses.

Celebration of the centenary of Mexican independence on Sept. 12 precedes by one month Spain's celebration of the 400th anniversary of the conquest of Mexico, postponed from Aug. 13 to Oct. 12 on account of the Spanish reverses in Morocco. The Mexican celebration is marked by a brilliant season of opera, which began on Sept. 3. The company includes singers from the Metropolitan Opera, New York, the Chicago Grand Opera Company and notable opera companies of Europe. Latin America is to be represented in force at the celebration, many States sending official delegations. Passport requirements for Americans were waived and railroad fares to Mexico City were reduced 20 per cent. for the occasion.

A campaign of economy in expenditure and expansion in production has been inaugurated by the Obregon Administration. It includes the abolition of petty graft in the use of Government automobiles, discontinuance of supplying gorgeous gala uniforms to officers gratis, and a reduction of ten per cent. in the wages of all Federal employees. A tax is placed on all lottery winnings running from 2½ per cent. to 10 per cent. on prizes above \$5,000.

To encourage the production of homes and offices in Mexico City, all buildings for residence or business purposes, construction of which is begun within six months, will be exempt from taxation until June 30, 1926. National lands in the territory of Quintana, which have stood idle since 1909, are to be divided into small tracts and sold on easy terms to farmers. The export duty on sisal has been reduced from 6 to 2 cents in an effort to revive the industry in Yucatan. Import duties on automobiles and flour have been removed. The Government is sending a party of agricultural experts through Western Canada to study the workings of agricultural colleges.

CENTRAL AMERICAN UNION

Constitution of the new Federation signed at Tegucigalpa—It grants woman suffrage—Settlement of the Panama-Costa Rica dispute enforced

[PERIOD ENDED SEPT. 12, 1921]

THE Constitution of the Federation of Central American Republics was signed at Tegucigalpa, Honduras, on Sept. 10, by representatives of Guatemala, Honduras and Salvador, and it was announced that on Oct. 15 elections would be held in the three States for members of the Federal Council. Tegucigalpa is to be the Federal capital. The Constitution grants woman suffrage. Nicaragua, it was thought, would join the union if the Constitution would permit any member State not only to live up to any treaty obligations already incurred, but also to negotiate and carry out any future treaty agreements that might be necessary. Nicaragua had in mind the treaty with the United States granting permission to build an interoceanic canal across her territory. As this treaty is only general, a more definite agreement as to details will be needed when the time comes to build the canal, and Nicaragua wants her liberty of action assured. Costa Rica and Panama have made no move to join the union.

NICARAGUA—A state of war was proclaimed in the northern part of Nicaragua on Aug. 23 against armed bands which invaded the country from Honduras and captured the villages of Limay and Somoto, near the Pacific Coast. Three thousand troops were sent to the scene and forced the bands to flee to Honduras, where they were captured and disarmed. They numbered 1,208 soldiers and 103 officers.

GUATEMALA—An uprising of Indians in the Department of Zacapa, Guatemala, near the Honduran border, occurred in August. Two chieftains, Urango and Zula, as the result of a dispute concerning the possession of lands, joined forces, entered a village, killed the commandante and held up the day train on its way to the plantations. A trainload of soldiers from Guatemala City quelled the disturbance.

PANAMA—Costa Rica has sent troops to occupy the Coto region in dispute with

Panama and the incident is closed, although President Porras, in a manifesto issued on Aug. 24, protesting against the occupation, said:

Panama reserves the right to occupy, whenever opportunity offers, the territory adjudicated to her by the Loubet award and also to make effective all rights originating from an unprecedented act by which Costa Rica violated the existing status quo between the two nations.

Secretary Hughes on Aug. 18 sent a note to Panama saying there was no reason why the United States should suggest to Costa Rica

that it delay longer taking jurisdiction over the territory which is now occupied by Panama and which was adjudged to belong to Costa Rica by the terms of the Loubet award.

Costa Rica meanwhile had notified the United States that it was ready to assume immediately jurisdiction over the territory referred to.

At Secretary Hughes' request, a battalion of marines, consisting of 18 officers and 388 men, was sent to the Canal Zone, leaving Philadelphia on board the battleship Pennsylvania on Aug. 21. At the Canal Zone the men were to be transferred to a gunboat and sent to the Coto region on the Pacific. It should be remembered there never was any question that Coto belonged to Costa Rica, but Panama had been occupying it to force boundary concessions from Costa Rica on the Atlantic side.

Panama, yielding to force, ordered Coto evacuated by civilian authorities so that Costa Ricans on their arrival would find no Panama Government representatives there. Narciso Garay, Panama's Foreign Minister, who was in Washington endeavoring to present Panama's side of the dispute, on Aug. 23 was ordered to leave after filing a protest at Washington. Secretary Hughes on the previous day notified Panama that "because of its special treaty relations to Panama" the United States Government could not permit Panama to renew hostili-

ties against Costa Rica when the latter proceeded to occupy the territory.

Chief Justice Taft, on Aug. 24, appointed Professor John F. Hayford, dean of the College of Engineering, Northwestern University, and Professor Ora Miner Leland of Cornell University to delimit the boundary in co-operation with one engineer named by Costa Rica and one by Panama, in accordance with the Porras-Anderson Treaty. These are the same two professors who were selected by Chief Justice White some years ago.

Panama refused to name any commissioner or to recognize those appointed by Chief Justice Taft. Dr. Garay left Washington for Panama on Aug. 24, after filing a protest stating that the action of the United States shows that "force still rules" the relations between nations and that the rights of people are esteemed only in proportion to the rifles, machine guns and cannon they can employ to enforce those rights. He asserted that the United States had assumed powers which were not conferred on it by the Canal Treaty or the Panama Constitution. Panama, he said, "cries to Heaven against the injustice" and "will look to the future to see that redeeming justice comes some day by the inexorable design of God." In reply, Secre-

tary Hughes said he was "unable to find that any of the statements made by your Excellency require further comment from me."

Panama evacuated the disputed territory on Sept. 5, and on Sept. 9 the State Department announced that Costa Rica had taken peaceful possession.

PANAMA CANAL ZONE—It had been agreed (Aug. 15) to take a final vote Oct. 10 on Senator Borah's bill providing exemption from tolls by American coastwise vessels passing through the Panama Canal, but it was later said that it would be postponed until after the Disarmament Conference at the urgent solicitation of President Harding. As Great Britain is to be the principal foreign power at the Disarmament Conference, it was not thought politic to offend her by previously passing a bill in violation of what the late Ambassador Walter Hines Page described as the "specific and solemn agreement of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty," the former attempt at which so "amazed" the British. Moreover, the British Government had indicated that it did not regard with favor the proposal to exempt American coastwise shipping from paying Canal tolls, according to an Associated Press dispatch from Washington dated Aug. 12.

BRITISH WEST INDIES DEMAND SELF-RULE

[PERIOD ENDED SEPT. 12, 1921]

B RITISH colonies in the West Indies are demanding of the home Government a larger measure of self-rule. The Windward Islands, with headquarters in Grenada, hitherto administered by officials and members of a Legislative Council nominated by the Crown, are to have four elected members in the Council, according to a decision by the Secretary of the Colonies. Trinidad also is out for representative government, a public meeting in Port of Spain on Aug. 11 having unanimously voted that "the time has come when the inhabitants of the colony should have a voice in the government thereof."

BAHAMAS—Never since the days of piracy has such an opportunity for gain come to the inhabitants of the Bahamas. Money is circulating in Nassau in quantities undreamed of, and all other business has been practically abandoned for that of supplying American customers with liquor. Care is taken to restrict their trade to their own island, the goods being delivered only to the nearest wharf. Some vessels under the British flag engage in supplying Americans beyond the three-mile limit. The United States Treasury's contention of the right to seize British ships twelve miles from shore is not conceded, and Great Brit-

ain has protested against any overhauling of foreign vessels outside the three-mile limit.

CUBA—Havana newspapers have been attacking Major General Crowder for his prolonged stay in Cuba, calling it a "potential menace." The State Department, in view of these criticisms, made it plain that the Administration is satisfied with the work of General Crowder and has no intention of recalling him.

American marines sent to Camaguey at the beginning of the World War were still there in August. This was revealed by an attack on Major Leroy Foster on Aug. 6 by two Cubans, who injured him so seriously that he was still in the hospital on Sept. 5, when his father, George Foster, of Scribner, Neb., asked for a Government investigation, saying that the two assailants were permitted to go free.

Cuban loans are proposed in bills passed and laid before President Zayas in August. One is for \$50,000,000 to be negotiated in the United States, and another is for an internal loan of \$45,000,000. As the Platt amendment forbids any loan, external or internal, unless revenues of the republic are sufficient to meet expenditures, including amortization and interest, a new tax bill was passed raising revenue sufficient to meet those items. Approval was sought at Washington by the Cuban commercial mission, headed by Sebastian Gelabert, the Finance Minister.

Señor Cespedes, Cuban Minister at Wash-

ington, on Aug. 30 formally protested against the Fordney tariff bill as ruinous to Cuba's trade. The emergency tariff bill, he declared, had already caused an "overnight loss of \$32,000,000" to Cuba. The proposed duties would seriously impair American investments in Cuba and injure exports from the United States amounting to \$515,000,000.

PORTO RICO—Governor E. Mont Reily, by a rather brusque letter to Antonio Barcelo, President of the Porto Rican Senate, on Aug. 17, has aroused a storm of indignation. Señor Barcelo had recommended three persons for local offices, and Governor Reily replied: "I want you fully to understand that I shall never appoint any man to any office who is an advocate of independence. When you publicly renounce independence and break loose from some of your pernicious and un-American associates, then I will be glad to have your recommendations." Governor Reily, who was the Harding pre-convention Western campaign manager, also wants Spanish eliminated in favor of English in the curriculum of the public schools. Members of the Porto Rican colony in New York on Sept. 4 adopted resolutions calling upon President Harding to remove Governor Reily.

Pope Benedict has appointed the Rev. George C. Caruana, secretary to Cardinal Dougherty of Philadelphia, to be Bishop of Porto Rico, succeeding the late Bishop Jones. Father Caruna is a native of Malta and was educated by English Jesuits.

LOSING OUR TRADE IN SOUTH AMERICA

MOST Argentine firms have only a small stock of American goods left and when that is gone no more will be ordered," said W. K. Ackley, head of the American Foreign Banking Corporation at Buenos Aires, to an interviewer on Aug. 12. "During the war, while the European nations were helpless to defend their commerce in South America, the United States secured a brilliant and imposing position. Americans are now losing it through laxity, and it is returning to the hands of British,

French, Germans, and Italians." The Epoca of Buenos Aires says North American investors have shown little inclination to put their money into South American enterprises or to consult Latin-American tastes. While praising the "open door" policy which is to eliminate unjust privileges, the American Government adopts an emergency tariff in protection of its own producers which constitutes a severe blow to Argentine exportation.

ARGENTINA—Although the first oil

well in Argentina was drilled thirteen years ago, the fields are only now beginning to attract attention from foreign capital. English, Dutch, French and German interests are competing for concessions and have obtained comparatively large areas. Swiss and Belgian capital is also interested. * * * Bids opened for bridge work disclosed German offers at one-third American costs. German deliveries are prompt and ample and American articles are being ousted from the market, but the Germans are less effective in selling heavy machinery, locomotives, rails and other large steel products. * * * Germany is awaiting the return of the Argentine Minister to his post to perform at Kiel the ceremony of atonement which she has agreed to make for the sinking of the steamers *Monte Protegido* and *Toro* during the war. * * * Traffic between Argentina and Russia was resumed on Sept. 2, when a Norwegian steamship left Buenos Aires for Petrograd with a cargo of flour purchased by the Soviet Government. A Spanish mission arrived in Buenos Aires on Aug. 24 to study a plan to establish airship communication between Spain and Argentina. On the ocean a record voyage was made by the *Vestris* of the Lamport & Holt Line, from Buenos Aires to New York in 16 days 11 hours and 54 minutes.

BOLIVIA—A request was forwarded by Bolivia to the League of Nations Secretary to present one phase of the Tacna-Arica dispute between Chile, Peru and Bolivia to the Assembly of the League at Geneva for adjudication. Consideration was set for Sept. 6, but the Chilean delegation threatened to withdraw if it came up. Bolivia asked the League to revise the Treaty of 1904 with Chile, in which Chile's authority was recognized in Antofagasta, while Chile gave custom houses to Bolivia there and at Arica, besides promising to build a railway from Arica to La Paz, the Bolivian capital—a railway which has been in operation since 1913. Augustin Edwards, head of the Chilean delegation, argued that the League cannot revise peace treaties, otherwise it must concede the right to Germany, Austria and Turkey. Finally, at the suggestion of Mr. Karnebeek, who presided over the Assembly, discussion of the sub-

ject was postponed. Chile, on Sept. 11, consented to refer to a commission of three jurists her dispute with Bolivia over the Treaty of 1904. * * * Bolivia has a minor dispute with Chile regarding the use of the waters of the Mauri River, which starts in Peru, crosses the Tacna district, and enters Bolivia. Chile proposed to use the river to irrigate part of the Tacna region, but Bolivia opposes it.

BRAZIL—An American engineering firm has received a contract to supervise the reclamation of Brazil's semi-arid States. Five large dams are to be constructed in Ceara and Parahyba, turning several valleys into reservoirs to store up the water of the rainy season from January to April and distribute it during the dry season from May to December, when scarcely any rain falls. * * * The second half of an issue of \$50,000,000 in twenty-year 8 per cent. gold bonds of Brazil was offered for sale in New York on Aug. 30 and oversubscribed within an hour. * * * One thousand German emigrants left Hamburg for Rio Janeiro on Aug. 23, completing the contingent of 3,000 to whom the Brazilian Government offered free passage.

CHILE—A general lockout at the Port of Valparaiso was begun on Aug. 18 by direction of the Commercial Association. Non-union workmen were hired to unload foreign vessels. The new Premier, Hector Laso, declared that the Government would protect any one who wished to work. On Aug. 29 the maritime workers who had been locked out declared themselves ready to work under the old conditions.

COLOMBIA—The Colombian Cabinet resigned on Sept. 4, announcing that the step was taken to promote harmony between the Executive and the legislative body. * * * The National City Bank of New York on Aug. 19 announced that its branches at Barranquilla, Bogota and Medellin, Colombia, had been closed owing to unprofitable business and slow collections.

PERU—A dispatch from Lima on Sept. 6 announced that a group of American farmers, comprising the advance guard of a colonization scheme involving 200 farmers from the West, had arrived on its way to the Pampa del Sacramento Valley, along the headwaters of the Amazon River in

Northern Peru, where the colony is to be established. The party was in charge of J. B. Schoenfelt of Okmulgee, Okla., formerly United States Indian Agent for Oklahoma Territory, who obtained for colonization purposes a grant of 650,000 acres of agricultural and forest lands from the Peruvian Government in October, 1920.

URUGUAY—President Brum has sent to the Uruguayan Congress a bill providing suffrage for women and all other legal rights held by men.

VENEZUELA — General Jose Manuel Hernandez, at one time one of the most spectacular figures in Latin-American history, died in New York on Aug. 25, at the age of 68. He was the leader of many revolutions in Venezuela, generally known by the nickname of El Mocho, "the crippled," because he had lost some of the fingers of his right hand in a battle. In 1914 he made his last revolutionary effort, but found little support and later lived in Havana.

STORM CLOUDS IN INDIA

IN the face of things, all is well in India, from the viewpoint of the British *raj*. So at least the India Office officials in London declare to the British people in the public press. The reform measures initiated by Lord Chelmsford, the former Viceroy, and Mr. Montagu, the British Secretary for India, it is declared, have begun to give the Indian people that for which they have longed—representative Government. The work of the new Assembly Council at Delhi, it is asserted, has been such as to inspire great confidence that it will ultimately prepare India for the consummation of her national desires—independence as an integral member of the empire with Dominion status. Mr. Gandhi's movement of non-co-operation is proving itself impotent. Lord Reading, the new Viceroy, and one of the most brilliant judicial minds of Great Britain, has taken hold of the Indian situation with a strong hand. From his first encounter with Mr. Gandhi the Viceroy has come out triumphant, and Mr. Gandhi, under the threat of prosecution, was forced to exact a signed retraction from his Mohammedan allies—the Ali brothers—of violent statements made by them in public addresses inciting to rebellion. Free speech is allowed short of direct subversive propaganda. The population is generally peaceful. The Malabar uprisings in Southern India, which occurred in August and which cost hundreds of lives, were staged not by native Indians, but by a fanatic sect—the Moplahs—the descendants of Arab Mohammendans who emigrated to India long ago, and who have

never lost their warlike proclivities and their hatred of Hindus and Europeans alike. The status of Indian citizenship outside of India has been raised by the Imperial Conference. The political development of India is progressing favorably, and there is every ground of hope for the future of India within the empire.

Such is the rosy-tinted picture limned by the India Office. How far do the British people accept it as a true depiction of affairs in the mighty Indian empire whose population totals 300,000,000 souls, one-fifth of the world's entire population? Numerous letters of protest against this roseate view have been printed of late in the English press, emanating from men whose knowledge of India is first-hand and intimate. The most striking contradiction thus far published was an impressive article contributed by Sir Michael O'Dwyer, late Lieutenant Governor of India's stormiest and most disaffected province, the Punjab, in the August number of *The Fortnightly Review*, under the title "Present Conditions in India." This article is devoted in the main to an analysis of the working of the Chelmsford-Montagu "Reforms." Sir Michael, it should be remembered, was in control of affairs in the Punjab when the Amritsar massacres occurred, the responsibility for which was thrown on General Dyer, who was subsequently reprimanded severely by the Government and dismissed from Indian service. What the late Lieutenant Governor says has weight, both because of his former high official rank and because of his long and close contact with

conditions in India. Briefly summarized, his conclusions regarding the reforms are these:

The so-called democratic régime now established in India is a mockery. The members of the Provincial Councils represent the voices of less than 1 per cent., and those of the Central Assembly at Delhi less than one-tenth of 1 per cent., of the population. The great masses are debarred, and will be debarred for many years to come, from the electoral franchise. Realization of this fact makes them easy victims of the Gandhi-Ali anti-English propaganda. The Indian members of the Councils and the Central Assembly are drawn exclusively from the English-educated lawyer class. Indians who are not afraid to speak their mind have long leveled against the British Indian Government the reproach that it has imposed on India a "*Vakil Raj*," or lawyers' rule. The lawyer, the journalist and the professional politician, many of whom are secretly disloyal and of a trouble-making tendency, have been selected for the Government of the empire which the rural classes, the Indian aristocracy, the landowners and industrialists maintain by their labor and loyalty. All these have no representation in the Government of India. This augurs ill, not well, of the future. Gandhi has not failed to use it as a new argument to prove the futility of trusting the British rulers to give India any effective form of popular government.

It is, however, Sir Michael's picture of the mood of the people as a whole, and their attitude to the British political officers and their families, which gives most food for thought. The situation he sets forth is little less than alarming, as may be gathered from a passage such as this:

The officers of Government, from the highest down, are regularly obstructed and insulted in public; the masses, hitherto loyal and courteous, are being embittered against the hated foreigner, whether official or non-official: shops are shut in protest when they appear on tour, supplies refused, transport facilities withheld. In many parts of India the district officer, on whose vigilant watch over his subordinates, maintained by constant touring, the efficiency of the Administration largely turns, is unable to move outside headquarters. Isolated Europeans in remote stations are living in constant fear of attack; their servants are intimidated into deserting them, their property is raided or burned.

Various writers of the British press declare that the situation in India is ominous, that the British are living there in a virtual state of isolation and constant apprehension. Gandhi, the most formidable enemy England has ever had in India, is unremitting in his activities. The "victory" won by Lord Reading was an empty one, consisting merely in the pledge to tone down the violent utterances of the brothers Ali to a point just short of liability to prosecution. It is essential that these powerful allies to the Gandhi cause should conserve their liberty of action. The latest advices indicate that though they are observing more caution, they are showing no decline in anti-English bitterness.

Other propagandists of less luminance are daily transgressing the limits prescribed and are being arrested and tried for sedition. And Mr. Gandhi marches on. His latest demonstration was one in favor of the public burning of all cloth of British manufacture, the example for which he set himself. Many of his fanatic followers are consigning to the flames all the foreign cloth they possess. The first two stages of the Mahatma's program—refusal to accept Government titles and honors and refusal to attend Government schools—have been executed with a much wider success than is generally believed. The next two stages, refusal to serve in the Government police or the Indian army and refusal to pay Government taxes, loom in the future. What cares Gandhi—this dark little wisp of a man, who lives like a Hindu monk and fanatically believes that India can be saved only by a return to the teachings of the ancient Vedas and to a primitive state of society—for the public renunciation of his movement by Indians of lofty intellectual rank such as Rabindranath Tagore? Tagore is a poet. England, the national enemy, must be dispossessed. And so powerful is Gandhi that the Government of India is afraid to arrest him, and Gandhi and the people of India know that the Government is afraid to arrest him. Wherever he goes he is treated with love and veneration. The people bow down before him at railway stations and kiss the hem of his garment. Lord Reading has yet to show that he can keep this situation from developing into another Indian mutiny."

THE RIGHT ROAD TO BUSINESS RECOVERY

Foundations for a new era of prosperity indicated by Otto H. Kahn and other financial leaders—Prices now the crux of the whole problem—Adoption of a monetary policy that will give producers an opening for activity without inflating prices again

TO turn for encouragement and testimony of forthcoming improvement in world affairs, toward a land of utter misery, of starvation and pestilence, of political misrule and social ignorance, a land which seems to have exhausted the range of human distress, has in it something of the grotesque. Yet it is toward Russia, the unfortunate, that the eyes of Europe are turning and toward which the eyes of America should turn. For there can be seen the earnest of better times which are to come over the whole world, if only the nations of the world grasp the opportunity which is offered.

In Russia lies the salvation of war-exhausted Europe. The acreage of a continent, its fields, its forests, the minerals that lie beneath the ground, could supply the wants of practically all the transatlantic nations, could they be worked scientifically under a stable and wise Government. And therein is the hope which may be a recompense for the agony which has come upon Russia.

Under the Bolsheviks the land was truly the dark continent which it has been called, as dark as Darkest Africa in the days before exploration. Today famine has broken the grip of the rulers whose own crazed ideas brought it on. The Russia which Hoover and the relief workers of Europe leave will be a different Russia from the Russia they entered. The change cannot come abruptly and at once—at least, it probably will not—but come it must, and it is possible now for those who are trying to guide Europe through a period of reconstruction to see ahead a Russia which, economically, shall somewhat resemble the Russia of the Czars, and shall differ from

it not in any lessened, but probably in a wider, field of usefulness.

Otto H. Kahn is among those who have seen these possibilities. Upon his recent return from Europe he cited the Russian situation as one of the most significant developments he had noted in comparing his impressions recently formed with those with which he returned to the United States a year ago.

First in importance he put the fact that the theories of Bolshevism have been wholly discredited and have ceased to be a contagious influence and an article of faith with all but a small fraction of the bona fide working people of Europe. Second, he found that the eyes of the industrial nations of Europe were on Russia, as the new land of unlimited possibilities, and, third, that there seemed to be almost universal recognition, even in strongly antagonistic quarters, that for the commercial penetration and the proper economic ordering and development of a regenerated or to-be-regenerated Russia, the active co-operation of Germany was requisite and essential, owing to her contiguity and her knowledge of Russian ways and qualities and conditions.

"England and France," said Mr. Kahn, "are alive to that situation, and their financial and industrial leaders are astir, especially those of England, with traditional enterprise, skill and foresight. American co-operation would be welcome at this time. It would appear to me that this situation should receive the careful and prompt attention of American industry and finance, lest by standing aloof too long we may find ourselves foreclosed from desirable opportunities when the proper time arrives. This suggestion is, of course, entirely apart from

the political or moral question of according any recognition to the Soviet Government until and unless it be sanctioned by unmistakable action through the free vote of the Russian people."

America, Mr. Kahn pointed out, looms so large as an actual, and still more a potential, factor in world affairs that our domestic affairs formed an appropriate subject for discussion in even so cursory a survey of world matters as his trip abroad had enabled him to make.

"It was inevitable," Mr. Kahn asserted, "that the artificially stimulated boom period of the war years and the period immediately following should be succeeded by a drastic and painful process of readjustment to normal conditions, though it need not have been as drastic and painful as it was and, indeed, still is. At any rate, it seems to me the time has come when we should rouse ourselves out of the slough of industrial despond. And I believe we can do so if we make a determined effort and pull together and follow that road which is marked by the signposts of economic soundness."

GUIDE TO THE RIGHT ROAD

What are these signposts? Mr. Kahn has summarized them so well that his words may be used:

First, a wise taxation policy. After all, the total sum required to be raised by taxation for our Governmental needs, while vast in comparison with ante-war years, is relatively light in comparison with what it is in the principal countries of Europe, as proportionate to our wealth and population and theirs. The burden of taxation, direct and indirect, resting on the man of small or moderate means in America is many times lighter than it is in any of the leading countries of Europe. That is as it should be, and no revision of taxation would or should be considered by Congress which would relieve the well-to-do at the expense of the masses of the people. If our system of taxation has been, as undoubtedly it has been, a strongly intensifying factor in bringing about the present situation in business collapse and unemployment and in retarding recovery, the reason is not so much the total size of our tax bill—though that, of course, was extravagantly swollen and must and will be greatly reduced—but the fact that

taxation was dumped on the back of business and capital most clumsily and crudely. We cannot have a return to normal business conditions, we cannot have vigorous enterprise, until we shall have corrected the most glaring, at least, among the faults of our present system of raising revenue.

Second, a wise credit and loan policy. There has been too much willingness in certain quarters to promote enterprises, to float securities for public sale and to facilitate business expansion when prices were abnormally high and a policy of caution and restriction was indicated. The concomitant of that attitude was insufficient willingness or ability to grant loans and credits when the danger flag of unduly swollen prices had disappeared. In times like the present, the attitude of those who are in charge of the business of loans and credits should be one of active encouragement and of a ready willingness, within the limits of prudence and capacity, to extend adequate facilities to borrowers for legitimate needs at home and abroad.

Third, a wise tariff policy. Our Government, during the war and for some time after, extended huge loans to European Governments—I venture to think with undue and unnecessary lavishness. Private loans and credits have likewise been extended to foreign applicants to a very large aggregate, and perhaps not always with sufficient discrimination. Whatever may be the merit of suggestions put forward for dealing with this question, it appears manifest that public opinion and Congress are unwilling at this time to consider any disposition of the loans owing us by foreign nations except their refunding. But we cannot eat our cake and have it. There are only a very few ways in which foreign nations can discharge the interest on the debts owing us, let alone the principal, and of these ways the most available is to furnish us with goods and services. Furthermore, if we want the foreigner to buy from us, we must be willing that he should sell to us. Trade, in the long run, cannot be a one-sided matter of sensational export balances. I am in favor of the principle of a protective tariff for America to the extent that its application is necessary to preserve our industries and the American standard of wages and living. But that principle can no longer be applied, with safety and ad-

vantage to the country and with fairness to the consumer, in the old-fashioned, somewhat haphazard and sometimes extreme way. New factors have entered into the problem which must be carefully studied and taken into account. And the American standard of wages and living does not and can not and should not mean that extravagant and wholly fortuitous standard which resulted from the war and from its after effects. In order to use the capacity of our industrial plants and to give full employment to our workers we must make every effort to hold our own in the markets of the world. And that is possible only if the cost of production can be brought into line with existing conditions. To that end the prerequisites are that waste and slipshod methods in business be eliminated, costs brought down, the "get-rich-quick-and-easy" period considered definitely at an end, and that both capital and labor recognize the need of adjusting their respective compensations to the circumstances which the country has to meet. All of us, including labor, will be better off in the long run by getting away from an artificial level, which has been of genuine benefit to no one and of considerable charm to a large fraction of our population.

FARMING AND EXPORT

Fourth, sound and effective measures to aid the farming industry. The vital importance of that industry and the critical situation of the farmer who, for some time past, has been receiving pre-war prices for his product while paying inflated prices for his needs, and who, moreover, has been laboring under inadequate credit and distribution facilities, are so manifest that it seems needless to put forth any arguments on that score. Second only to agriculture in national importance is the railroad industry, affecting, as it does, the public at large, the shipper, the investor and many industrial and commercial activities dependent on it to a considerable degree. It is greatly to be hoped that the long-pending settlement between the Government and the railroads will at last be consummated without further delay.

Fifth, cultivation of our export trade. That is a difficult task at best, in the face of depreciated currencies, cheap labor and

other stimulating factors operative in foreign countries. It requires, first of all, careful study of that field on the part of our merchants and bankers, and the setting up of organizations and machinery to be as effective, and the training of men to be as competent and expert, as those that have been developed by our competitors. It requires us to project our thoughts and plans internationally and to establish serviceable affiliations and appropriate co-operation abroad. It requires co-operation and comparison of views and experiences between exporters and bankers among each other and between them and the proper departments of the Government. The somewhat costly mistakes which have been made within the past few years ought to be turned to account as lessons for the future. In connection with this problem, the question of what, if anything, can be done to "stabilize the exchanges" ought to receive the close attention of the Government, and might profitably form the subject of an international comparison of views or of a conference in which the American representative should be more than a mere observer.

These are the views of Mr. Kahn, and the number of those who think like him is legion. A sound tax and tariff policy, wise handling of loans and credit, proper handling of the agricultural and railroad problems and the cultivation of an export trade are certainly chief among the essentials of prosperity for this country. But what constitute sound policies, proper handling and wise cultivation are open to argument. Were there accord on these subjects it would certainly be possible to record greater strides along the road marked by these economic signposts than can be done now. Tariff and tax are still unsettled by Congress, farm and railroad problems are problems still, and the cultivation of export trade is notable chiefly for its absence. Even our banking situation has its critics who complain loudly of the very deflation which others contend has not extended far enough. But there is satisfaction to be had in the knowledge that conditions are improving with steadiness, even if with slowness. We are better off today than we were a month ago, and better off then than the month preceding. We are making progress.

MOSTLY A PROBLEM OF PRICES

Business is beginning to pick up in many lines, though the improvement is slight, except in the cotton field, where something resembling a real boom has recently developed. There is a little more activity in iron and steel, and there was surely room for it. Other textiles besides cotton have improved their position somewhat.

We are still far from what we are pleased to call normal, however, and the problem of reaching this desired end seems tremendous, when examined with an eye which takes in its most remote ramifications. A broad view of the question makes it less puzzling, however. After all, prosperity is simply a matter of production, trade and consumption. All other problems fall under these heads. If goods can be produced at a price which will find a ready market and still yield a fair profit to the maker, conditions will rapidly become as normal as conditions ever are, for every producer is also a consumer, and the whole problem is really one of balance—to find the point of greatest volume at which supply and demand will offset each other.

From the consumer's viewpoint the matter is largely one of price. Much of the readjustment which has already taken place in industry has failed to reach the retail markets. The merchants who bought at inflated prices are still hopeful of passing these high-priced goods along to their customers and of restocking their shelves with the lower-priced goods which the jobbers and manufacturers are offering. Consumers are reluctant to buy while they feel that this desire exists, and injury is done even to the man who is offering his goods at a fair price, because the buying public is still suspicious of all prices.

It is a question of finding the right price, and the right price may be said to be the one which will move goods. Dr. Benjamin M. Anderson Jr., Ph. D., economist of the Chase National Bank of New York, expressed this thought succinctly before a recent meeting of the West Virginia Bankers' Association. He called attention to the fact that there was too much discussion of right prices, as if the matter were a moral question, and asserted that the idea that prices are morally right or wrong, just or unjust, was an idea which had real meaning only in

the case of a very narrow market, where one party to a buying and selling contract is pretty much at the mercy of the other. In the great markets, where there are many buyers and sellers, questions of moral right and wrong have little to do with the matter. The question is an economic one. Those prices are right from the economic standpoint which keep the industrial machinery moving. Right prices are prices which will move goods, and the way to find out what are right prices is to have a flexible, competitive, two-sided market, and to let prices go up or down in such a market until the supply and demand become equalized.

OBSTACLES TO RECOVERY

In such a situation, Dr. Anderson pointed out, goods will move and the markets will be cleared, new supplies will be called for and business activity will go on. If prices are held above the point which open, two-sided competition would bring about, the tendency is for consumption to fall off and for stocks to accumulate, causing a glut. If prices are artificially set below the level which open market conditions would bring about, the tendency is for consumption to go too fast and for production to be checked, leading to a scarcity. If prices are left free from artificial control, however, and if sellers, as well as buyers, really compete vigorously and effectively with one another in the price-making process, right prices can be reached and business revival can come. Dr. Anderson listed under six heads the main classes of resistance points which were preventing the establishment of right prices. These, he said, were:

1. The prices of finished manufactures are still much too high as compared with farm products and raw materials.
2. Retail prices have not yielded adequately.
3. Wages are still too high by and large, though scaling down of agricultural wages in the South has gone very far, and agricultural wages have yielded greatly in some parts of the country. But wages in manufacturing industries generally, and very especially wages on the railroads, in the bituminous coal fields, and in the building trades are still much too high.
4. Building materials are too high.
5. Steel has not yielded adequately.
6. Railway rates on steel, building materials, and other bulky goods are much too high, though some readjustment has been made.

Right railroad rates, from the standpoint of the railroad company itself, said Dr. Anderson, are rates which will move traffic, rather than rates which stop traffic. The old-fashioned railway rate-makers knew this. They made their rates, not wholesale, but piecemeal, with reference to "what the traffic would bear," and found it best for the railroads themselves to charge low rates on bulky stuff, which would cover the direct costs of moving the bulky goods, together with some contribution to the overhead expenses of the railroads, rather than to charge much higher rates at which the bulky goods could not move in volume. Right wages are wages at which full employment can be brought about. It is far better that labor should have full employment than that a part of the labor force should be employed part of the time at very high wage rates. We cannot banish moral principles from the determination of wages, as we can from the determination of market prices of goods. But the very best friends of labor must appreciate that wages which are so high as to make it impossible for employers to produce goods at prices which the market will pay are of no advantage to labor. The far-sighted business man will not be eager to reduce wages more than is necessary. The far-sighted union leader will seek to reconcile his followers to such wage readjustment as is necessary to facilitate business revival, knowing well that greatly prolonged depression would lead to disastrous breaks in wage standards.

BRITISH FINANCIAL RECOVERY

Perusal of the British economic and financial magazines discloses that Great Britain and the Continent are going through much the same phase of perplexity that we are. The problems of readjustment to the post-war situation are much the same in all countries and differ practically only in degree, with the distinction, of course, that the United States is solvent beyond all question, while the European countries, none of them firmly on a gold basis, are struggling to return there. The London Economist, commenting upon some cheerful signs of recovery in industry, gives this advice:

On the other hand, there is no need to be too complacent. We have a long row to hoe

before we can get back to anything like our old prosperity, and the position is still full of difficulties and anxieties. What we need most now is neither exaggerated depression nor headlong gayety, but calm, determined confidence, hard work, all together, and sensible spending.

It is interesting to note that the monetary policy—and by this is meant the credit situation as well—is a chief topic of concern in England, even as it is here. The Economist calls attention to the fact that the currency and financial policy are only machinery designed to help production and asserts: "If we do not get the goods that are real wealth, the most perfect currency system will not fill our cupboards; but the use or misuse of the machine is of the greatest importance, second only to the most serious question of all, the need for inducing the manual workers to work well and contentedly and heartily."

The United States has been held up as a "horrible example" by at least one critic of the British financial policy, Arthur Kitson, who, The Economist says, "has long been well known as a critic of our system, and he now, with that fearless frankness which leads him so straight along the path of what he believes to be the truth, says that deflation has caused the United States greater losses than the whole of their war expenditure; that we are suffering from the same 'lunatic policy,' and that Germany, having reduced her mark to the lowest point in her history, is purposely keeping it low by issuing fresh notes, and that she has only to continue this policy for the next five years and the 'bulk of the world's trade will be in her control.'"

THE INFLATION FALLACY

This is the inflationist case carried to its logical conclusion, and the comment of the editor of The Economist so amply answers the position that it will serve here as well as in England. Says he:

If these things are so, the way to prosperity is easy. We have only to stop all this talk of economy, encourage our wasters to waste as much as possible, print notes and expand credit in the process, and the world's trade is ours, as long as other people do not seize this bright idea and put it into practice still more effectively. Ultimately, it would seem, the fight for the world's trade will resolve itself into the question which nation can get paper and

print notes fastest, and the control of the paper supply will be the real key to industrial victory. It is easy to reduce this extreme view, as expressed by Mr. Kitson, to absurdity. It was prettily done by a letter signed "Economist in Wonderland," and published in our issue of Aug. 6.

Mr. D. M. Mason, of the Sound Currency Association, also suggested that, on Mr. Kitson's theory, Poland and Russia would be our most formidable competitors, and Mr. Kitson says that this is not argument, and that if Poland could add to her cheap currency an unlimited supply of labor, raw material, and capital, then she would be a dangerous competitor. Thereby he dispels the whole sweet vision, and tells us not only to print, but also to work and save. If we worked as hard as Germany—and in this connection we must remember that the number of hours worked per day are not the only test—it is possible that if we succeeded in depreciating our currency in the same way as hers, we might get a temporary advantage in export. If we depreciate all around, so that our currency loses buying power at home as much as abroad, we shall surely be just as we were. Germany's currency is worth more at home than it is abroad, and this gives an advantage to her exporters and foreign customers at the expense of the home consumer. The question is whether this advantage will last. It seems to be artificially promoted and preserved by Germany's need to pay reparation, and those who believe that reparation will seriously damage our trade, point to it as one of the means by which Germany will undo us. She has to make this compulsory payment, and to that extent cannot import, and so the demand for her currency abroad is lessened and it remains depreciated in foreign centres more than at home.

But many nations have in the past made compulsory payments in the shape of interest without producing this effect. They were, of course, smaller, and the remedy in Germany's case seems to be to encourage her export trade to grow instead of employing stupid measure to restrict it, so that the relation between the reparation payment and her total exports may be reduced. In any case, if we take Mr. Kitson's advice and inflate for the good of industry, it seems that

we must be careful to depreciate sterling abroad more than we do at home, and it is rather hard to see how to do this. On the other hand, there is something to be said for the view that America and we have been a little too hasty in deflation, or rather, in producing the fear of deflation, for we, at least, have so far produced little or no reductions in credit, though a considerable decline in currency circulation.

America is deliberately sitting on her "mountain of gold" and not allowing it to produce its natural effect of currency expansion, which would have tended to depreciate the dollar. In the Chase Economic Bulletin of July 20, Messrs. A. B. Hepburn and B. M. Anderson argue that "we must recognize that we hold much of our gold in trust against the time when Europe will need it to restore sound currency. We must not let it depreciate on our hands or tie it up in illiquid credits." But if the gold is thus to be cherished it cannot work the cure that expansion based on it might produce, though it is natural enough for the Federal Reserve Banks to check the expansion in view of other consequences that might ensue from it.

Here we have had a policy of dear money, through advances in bank rate and Treasury bill rates, which was questioned from its outset, and is now abandoned by some of its most distinguished supporters; and there are some interesting passages in the recently issued report of the Netherlands Bank which show that in Holland the rationing policy has succeeded without any increase in the discount rate. What we want is a monetary policy which will give genuine producers a chance without setting us off again around the vicious circle of rising prices. If a new currency committee demanded by the Federation of British Industries can produce it, by all means let us have one.

American business will endorse the wish: a monetary policy which will give genuine producers a chance without setting us off again around the vicious circle of rising prices. That is what business everywhere desires, and, in the United States, it should get it first.